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MEMOIRS

Of the Right Honourable
The M A R Q U I S of
CLANRICARDE,
Lord Deputy General of *Ireland.*

CONTAINING
Several Original PAPERS and LETTERS of
King *Charles II*, Queen Mother, the Duke of
York, the Duke of *Lorrain*, the Marquis of
Ormond, Archbishop of *Tuam*, Lord Viscount
Taaffe, &c. relating to the Treaty between the
Duke of *Lorrain* and the *Irish* Commissioners,
from *February 1650*, to *August 1653*.

Publish'd from his Lordship's Original MSS.

To which is Prefix'd,
*A DISSERTATION, wherein some Passages of
these MEMOIRS are illustrated. With a Di-
gression containing several curious Observations
concerning the Antiquities of Ireland.*

L O N D O N:

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THE M. A. R. Q. 12 of

Lord Deputy General of Ireland.

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MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

THESE THINGS BEING CONSIDERED, THE
COMMISSIONERS OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE
HAVE BEEN OF OPINION THAT THE
LANDS IN QUESTION SHOULD BE
CONVEYED TO THE NATIONAL TRUST
FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE
LANDS OF IRELAND.

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A
DISSERTATION,

Wherein several Passages of these MEMOIRS are illustrated. With a Digression containing an Account of the Education and Studies of the ancient Irish Fillim, or Poets, and of their Works; out of which Dr. Keating has chiefly compiled his Historical Collections relating to Ireland. To which are added some Particulars of Dr. Keating's Life, and the Occasion of his making those Collections.

SINCE the Usefulness of all Arts and Sciences, is taken from the Tendency they have to promote human Happiness, whether in Society, or in a private and solitary Life: HISTORY deserves a great Regard, and will hardly yield to any other in the Means of obtaining that desirable End. For as it works by lively Examples, which have a great Affinity with our own Actions, it seldom
a misses,

*Epist. ad Luc-
cium & alibi.*

misses, when rightly applied, of making a deep Impression in our Mind. Besides, it has this Peculiar in it, that it softens the Toil and Labour it gives, by an insusive Delight, that accompanies at the same time, and as Tully nearly expresses it, so influences our Mind, and Passions, as if we were Actors therein, or immediately concern'd our selves. Divine Wisdom has excited us to this Study, by a noble Specimen of its own in the old, and new Testaments, which are nothing else, for the most part, but true Histories of God's continued, and never-ceasing Bounties to Mankind: whence History comes to be divided into Sacred and Profane. How early the first has been, may be judg'd by the date of the other, in imitation whereof, it seems to have had its first Rise, and probably both from almost the very Beginning, tho' afterwards lost, or interrupted by the Desolation of the Flood, till in Process of Time reviv'd again; the one principally by *Moses*, and the other by some of his Contemporaries, or in the next succeeding Ages. For the *Chaldeans*, *Egyptians*, and *Phenicians* had the Use of Annals, and orderly Records of things, from very remote Antiquity; whereas the *Greeks*, and other *Europeans*, remain'd as yet in deep Barbarism, and Ignorance, as

Josephus

Josephus clearly shews in his Dispute with *Apion*: and *Nicolaus of Damascus*, expressly mention'd by him in another Place, wrote of the very Deluge it self. *And Callisthenes*, in his Answer to *Aristotle*, observes that by the exact Account he had from the Sages of *Babylon*; their *Æra* compleated 1903 Years that vernal Equinox, being the next after the taking of the said City by *Alexander*, which as to the Commencement of the Time mention'd, exceeded the Birth of *Abraham* by 210 Years, and consequently came very short of the other Relation, according to the Calculation of the *Hebrew Text*: But these being only particular Pieces of History, the former Notion still holds in the general, viz. that the Restauration of profane History succeeded that part of holy Writ, which was recorded by *Moses*.

Nor does the Recency of Letters according to some, who lay the Invention in, or about the heroick Times, carry any Weight to the contrary; which how much soever it may be objected, is but a bare Opinion at best, and will amount to no more, than that those, who in such or such Countries, had first introduc'd the use of Letters, were reputed the first Inventors of 'em, when they themselves had receiv'd the Art from Foreigners,

*Joseph. L. i.
de antiq. Ju.*

Euseb. chron.

[IV.]

reigners, and so tracing backward, one Man, or Tribe from another up to *Noah*, and from him to *Adam* himself the proto-parent, who probably was the first Author. For being created in the fullness of Perfection and Wisdom, as well to govern, as to appoint whatever might be expedient, or useful to humane Society, 'tis reasonable to imagine, he did not pass by the Means, whereby Posterity might inviolably preserve the Memory of Times past, as well with relation to the consequences of Virtue and Vice, as the turns of Providence in the Management of the inferior World. And the said Means must be understood of Letters; because exceeding all other, and consequently most becoming that great and speculative Philosopher. An Instance hereof are the two Pillars erected in the East before the Flood, whereon the Science of the Stars was engrav'd, if we may believe *Josephus*, in his first Book of the Antiquities of the *Jews*; who farther adds, that one of them was still extant in his own Time: which engraving must either imply Hieroglyphicks, or Letters, of course. Another Instance is the Prophecy of the *Antediluvian Enoch*, which relates to the last Judgment, and the coming of Christ for that end, repeated by *St. Jude* the Apostle. And finally a Book, or
Books

Books of the said *Enoch*, related by some to have been discover'd under-ground in *Arabia the happy*, when *Solomon* sway'd the *Jewish* Scepter, to whom perhaps they were presented amongst other Rarities, by the Queen of *Sheba*. Whether there be any Truth in that Account or not, 'tis certain, a Work under that Patriarch's Name, has reach'd down to the first Age of Christianity, quoted by the Apostle as aforesaid, and a Translation of it in *Greek* was common in the Eastern Church, till the Distraction of the *Roman* Empire upon the Death of *Theodosius* the younger, and *Marcian*, who next succeeded him, whereof *Scaliger* gives a Fragment in his *Eusebius*. And though the said Book was not deem'd by some to be Authentick; as not comprehended in the Catalogue of the written Monuments of the *Jews*, who exclaim'd against it perhaps out of Malice for the Quotation of the Apostle, and that it gave a clear Testimony of the Divinity of Christ; yet it was in great Esteem with the Christians of those Times, and frequently cited by Ecclesiastical Writers of the first Class, many of whose Works are still extant.

History, that it may answer the End, it was ordained for, must be genuin, simple, and without any Fucus or Disguise whatsoever.

soever. For as it directs our Conduct by a Variety of Precedents, they must be real, and veracious, otherwise won't have that Conformity with Nature, that is necessarily required, without which they run headlong into Deviations and Errors; as mock Looking-glasses, which by altering the Course of the Opticks, or the Reflection of the visive Rays, represent the Objects otherwise, than they are in themselves: whence to those that are not learned, or sufficiently vers'd therein, wrong Notions, false Opinions, and rash Judgments arise of Course, than which nothing can be more prejudicial to human Conversation. But such is the Depravity of the Times, and the Bent of our Passions carrying us from the Government of Reason, that very few Writers of this kind, have had Success in tracing the Paths of Nature, tho' obvious to their Eyes: and that too, when there was more Sincerity in the World than later Ages could pretend to; not to speak of our own, that can hardly come into any Competition, notwithstanding the Restauration of Learning, and the other great Advantages it has. It was chiefly this Corruption that made *Pliny* the younger, tho' a Man of excellent Endowments, think the writing of History a Task hardly to be undergone. And

Epist. ad Capitonem. & alibi.

Tully

Tully himself, in his *Dialogue de Oratore*, having observed, under the Name of one of his Interlocutors, that 'tis a Work becoming a great Orator; introduces another, who recommends the Writing of the *Roman History*, (wretchedly performed before) to him, as being, beyond Emulation or Envy, the most accomplish'd of that kind. And it is there also those excellent Rules are mention'd, and laid down for a Historian, viz. " that " he should deliver no Falshood, or omit " any Truth whatsoever; nor make him- " self liable to the least Suspicion, either " of Favour, or Malice in the Course of his " Writing: which Principles constitute the " Foundation or Ground-work of the whole. " But the Edifice or Structure, to be raised " thereupon, consists in a Series of Things, " and Words. The Nature of the first requires, that there be Order of Time, Description of Places; also that in Undertakings, great and worthy of Remembrance, first the Designs, then the Operations, and lastly the Events be handled. " Concerning the Designs, that the Writer " do signifie what he approves therein, and " in the Actions declare, not only what hath " been said, or done, but also in what manner. That upon the Events all the Mo-

“ tives be explain’d, with the Turns owing,
 “ either to Wisdom or Temerity, and not
 “ only the Exploits of the main Actors them-
 “ selves comprehended, but in particular the
 “ Character, and Genius of every one, espe-
 “ cially such, as had acquir’d a singular Name,
 “ or Reputation in the World. The nature
 “ of the Diction, or Style, to be clear, and
 “ easy, flowing, as it were, with an even
 “ Tract, and Lenity, void of the asperity of
 “ judicial Pleadings, and the pungent Sen-
 “ tences, or Arguments, us’d in Courts of
 “ Judicature. The Work being thus com-
 pleted, under the said Restrictions, truly de-
 serves those great Praises, the Orator in the
 same Place lavishly bestows upon it, by syno-
 nimous Epithets, expressing the several Offi-
 ces, or Properties it has; as, *Testis temporum,*
Lux veritatis, magistra vitæ, vita memoriæ, nuncia
vetustatis. Agreeable to which are the perti-
 nent Observations of that wise, and learned
 Emperor *Basilus*, who adorned the Eastern
 Throne; in the Book of his, he styles || *κεφάλαια*
παρηγορητικά, design’d for the Use of the Prince,
 his Son and Heir Apparent, *Leo*, wherein a-
 mongst other Studies, recommending the rea-
 ding of History to him, he expresses himself
 thus; “ Yet not all History, (least thou
 “ shouldst err :) for as every Soil, or Earth,
 doth

Primus cog-
nomento Mace-
donicus.

|| Chief Ad-
 monitions.

“ doth not produce Gold: so neither does
 “ this promiscuousness of Writings beget that
 “ Prudence, which is necessary to a civil
 “ Life. What sort then is it? ’tis that
 “ which is distinguish’d, and beautified by
 “ these three things; Truth, Explanation,
 “ and Judgment, and consequently, a just and
 “ perfect History: Nor shall I ever judge a-
 “ ny to be so, that shall be found defective
 “ in any of these. The first Mark is *Truth*,
 “ viz. that it faithfully treat of all Things,
 “ and Events, and lay ’em in a full and clear
 “ Light. And this is the main Foundation
 “ of the Work, as if you should pull out the
 “ Eyes of an Animal, you wou’d render the
 “ whole Body unprofitable, leaving it as it
 “ were in a Shade of Darknes. Just so is a-
 “ ny History, that is depriv’d of that dis-
 “ cerning Part, the light of Truth: For in
 “ a false, and wandering Piece, how can you
 “ avoid being deceiv’d, and led astray? Such
 “ will never direct your Course with any
 “ Certainty, nor conduct your Actions, with
 “ that Steadiness they require. The second
 “ Mark is *Explanation*, viz. that it does not
 “ only lay down all things faithfully, but al-
 “ so dispose, and expound ’em in just Order;
 “ setting forth how, and for what End, each
 “ Action, or Undertaking, hath been per-
 “ formed

formed: This is a great Part, and in the
 Opinion of *Polybius* so necessary to an Hi-
 storian, that whosoever wants it, deserves
 not to be read. The third, and last Mark
 is *Judgment*, the end of which is to distin-
 guish, and illustrate the Matters treated of,
 approving at the same time such things as
 are Praise-worthy (but that briefly, and as
 it were passing by, or handling another
 Subject) and censuring such, as may de-
 serve it. O! how beautiful is this Part,
 which forms and directs all the Actions of
 Life! But this is to be so understood,
 when Matters proceed from an upright,
 and sound Judgment. For to no purpose
 will a corrupt, or unskilful Writer inter-
 meddle therein; since it will serve more to
 expose him, than harm the Reader; be-
 cause the Levity of the Man will immedi-
 ately appear. These are the Characteri-
 sticks, or Marks, whereby Histories are to be
 distinguish'd: which if you find in any Per-
 formance of that Kind, whether Ancient or
 Modern, be fully persuaded, there is pure,
 and clean Gold, to be found therein: dig,
 and fetch it out.

Thus much I thought fit to premise con-
 cerning the Nature of History, both to shew
 the Sincerity, and Exactness, with which
 our

our illustrious Author has collected these Pieces, and how meanly those, that otherwise have written of the said Transactions, and still make a figure in Print, have acquitted themselves of the Duty of Historians. What Motives they had therein, is not my Business to enquire: the Charge is made out by this Manuscript, which has distinguishing Marks of a true Original, and consequently cannot be suppos'd to be forged or spurious. Even one of the said Writers themselves, viz. the Earl of Clarendon, gives great Encomiums to our Author, and saith, *he has left behind him a full Relation, not only of all things, that fell out under his own Administration in Ireland, but also from the Beginning of that Rebellion: and without doubt the following Papers bore a considerable Part in that Relation.* The Earl of Clarendon's Account of the Marquis of Clanricarde's Administration begins with the Year 1651, (when the Marquis of Ormond had retir'd into France, and almost the whole Country was lost to the Royal Party,) and is in this Manner:

“ The Marquis of Clanricarde left no way
 “ unattempted, that might apply the visible
 “ Strength, and Power of the *Irish* Nation,
 “ to the Preservation of themselves, and to
 “ the Support of the King's Government: he
 “ sent out his Orders, and Warrants, for the
 “ levying

Clarend. Hist.
 tom. 3. p. 136.

" levying of new Men, and to draw the old
 " Troops together, and to raise Money: but
 " few Men could be got together, and when
 " they were assembled, they could not stay
 " together for want of Money to pay them:
 " so that he could never get a Body together
 " to march against the Enemy; and if he did
 " prevail with them to march a whole Day
 " with him, he found the next Morning,
 " that half of them were run away: and it
 " quickly appear'd that they had made those
 " ample Vows, that they might be rid of
 " the Marquis of *Ormond*, without any pur-
 " pose of obeying the other.

The Historian charges here the *Irish* in
 general with Disobedience to the new Lord
 Deputy; in not levying Men, Money, and
 going off from his Standard, whenever he set
 himself to fight the Enemy. Yet 'tis well-
 known, there was no more of the King-
 dom left, even to the Marquis of *Ormond*
 himself, nor consequently come to the
 Lord Deputy, that could afford any Relief,
 but the two Counties of *Clare* and *Gallway*,
 then harra's'd, and reduc'd to great Wants
 by the long Subsistence of the King's Troops,
 and an Overcharge of Fugitives, come in
 from all the other Parts, possess'd by the Par-
 liament. How then could Men be levied,
 Money

Money found, and fit Preparations made for attacking a formidable Enemy, flush'd with many Successes, and supply'd with all Necessaries to carry on a vigorous War? That things stood thus at that time, not to trouble the Reader with other Proofs, that are obvious: I refer him to page 100, where an Account is given of the deplorable Condition of his Majesty's Affairs then in *Ireland*. His Lordship goes on. "The greatest Part
 " of the *Irish* Clergy, and all the *Irish* of
 " *Ulster*, had no mind to have any Relation
 " to the *English* Nation, and as little to re-
 " turn to their Obedience to the Crown:
 " they blamed each other for having deser-
 " ted the Nuncio, and thought of nothing
 " but how they might get some Foreign
 " Prince to take them into his Protection.
 " They first chose a Committee, *Plunket* and
 " *Browne*, two Lawyers, who had been e-
 " minent Conductors of the Rebellion from
 " the Beginning, and Men of good Parts,
 " and joyn'd others with them, who were
 " in *France* and *Flanders*; then they moved
 " the Lord Deputy to send these Gentlemen
 " into *Flanders*, to invite the Duke of *Lor-*
 " *rain*, to assist them with Arms, Money,
 " and Ammunition, &c. The Marquis of
 " *Clanricarde* had no Opinion of the Expe-
 " dient,

" dient, or that the Duke would engage
 " himself on the Behalf of a People, who
 " had so little Reputation in the World,
 " and therefore refused to give any Commis-
 " sion to the said Gentlemen, or to any o-
 " ther, to that Purpose, without first re-
 " ceiving the King's Orders, or at least the
 " Advice of the Marquis of *Ormond*, who
 " was known to be safely arriv'd in *France*;
 " but that was look'd upon as a Delay, which
 " their Condition could not bear; and the
 " doubting the Truth of the Intelligence,
 " and Information, of the Duke of *Lorraine's*
 " being willing to undertake their Relief,
 " was imputed to want of Good-will to re-
 " ceive it. And then all the Libels, and
 " Scandals, and Declarations, which had
 " been publish'd against the Marquis of *Or-*
 " *mond*, were now renew'd with equal Ma-
 " lice, and Virulency, against the Marquis
 " of *Clamartede*. They declared that God
 " would never bless his wither'd Hand,
 " which had always concurr'd with *Ormond*
 " in the Prosecution, and Persecution, of the
 " Catholick Confederates from the begin-
 " ning of their Engagement, for the Do-
 " fence of their Religion: and that he had
 " still had more Conversation with Here-
 " ticks, than with Catholicks; That he re-
 " fused

" fufed always to fubmit to the Pope's Au-
 " thority, and had treated his Nuncio with
 " lefs Refpect, than was due from any good
 " Catholick; and that all the Catholicks,
 " who were cherished, and countenanced by
 " him, were of the fane Faction.

" In the End, he could not longer refift
 " the Importunity of the Affembly of the
 " Confederate Catholicks, (which was again
 " brought together) and of the Bifhops, and
 " Clergy, that govern'd the other, but gave
 " his Consent to fend the fane Perfons, they
 " recommended to him, and gave them his
 " Credentials. What Inftuctions foever the
 " Lord Deputy prefcrib'd to them, the Com-
 " miffioners receiv'd others from the Coun-
 " cil, and Affembly of their Clergy, which
 " they thought more to the Purpofe, and
 " refolved to follow; by which they were
 " authorized to yield to any Conditions,
 " which might prevail with the Duke of
 " *Lorrain* to take them into his Protection,
 " and to engage him in their Defence, even
 " by delivering all they had of the Kingdom
 " into his Hands. Though they landed in
 " *France*, they gave no Notice of their Bu-
 " finefs, or Arrival, to the Queen, or to the
 " Marquis of *Ormond*, but profecuted their
 " Journey to *Bruffels*, and made their Ad-
 " dress

“ dress with all Secrecy to the Duke of
 “ *Lorrain*. There were at the same time at
 “ *Antwerp*, the Marquis of *Newcastle*, the
 “ Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, (who was
 “ newly returned from his Embassy in *Spain*)
 “ and Secretary *Nicholas*: all three had been
 “ of the King’s Council, to neither of whom
 “ they so much as gave a Visit; and though
 “ the Duke of *York*, during this Time, passed
 “ through *Brussels* in his Journey to *Paris*,
 “ they imparted not their Negotiations to
 “ his Highness.

“ The Duke of *Lorrain* had a very good
 “ Mind to get a footing in *Ireland*, where
 “ he was sure there wanted no Men to make
 “ Armies enough, which he thought were
 “ not like to want Courage to defend their
 “ Country and Religion. And the Com-
 “ missioners very frankly offered to deliver
 “ up *Galloway*, and all the Places which
 “ were in their Possession, into his Hands,
 “ with the Remainder of the Kingdom, as
 “ soon as it could be reduced, and to obey
 “ him absolutely as their Prince, &c.

Now most of the Particulars here set forth,
 as Facts, are contradicted by the Lord Depu-
 ty, and the clear Evidence of these Memoirs.
 For the Agents sent to treat with the Duke of
Lorrain, viz. the said *Plunket* and *Brown*,
 were

b

seems; for together with other Matters, they sent over a Letter, written to them at *Brussels* by the said Bishop, highly reflecting on, and very injurious to his Excellency's Honour, and Character; which Letter is here set down, Page 103. He also saith that the said Agents were intirely lost with the Country Party. Nor is the Historian's Account of their landing in *France* genuine, being contradicted here by their own Letter, Page 127, which expressly mentions, that after five Weeks Passage from their taking Sail on the 23d of *April*, they landed at *Amsterdam*, and so proceeded to *Brussels*, where the Court of *Lorraine* then was. As that upon their landing they gave no Notice of their Business or Arrival to the Queen, the Marquis of *Ormond*, nor even to his Highness the Duke of *York*, taking then *Brussels* in his Way to *Brante*, when they were there, &c. has no better Foundation than the rest; for upon their Arrival in the said City, meeting the Lord *Tasche*, joyn'd with them in Commission, they agreed amongst themselves, that this said Lord should forthwith repair to the Queen at *Paris*, with the Credentials, and Papers brought over by them, and thereupon know her Pleasure; which the said Lord performed, and brought back her

her Majesty's Approbation, and Letter to them, referring thereby all the Particulars to be observed, to the said Lord, to deliver in her Name: Nor did they fail of acquainting the Marquis of Ormond at the same time with the said Affairs, tho' the omitting that had not been very Material, when they found that her Majesty, vested with the whole Power from the King, her Son, had so heartily concerned her self therein before, as appears by her Letter to the Duke of *Lorraine* (of the 18th of *November* 1650.) and her present Commands agreeable to the same. That his Highness the Duke of *York*, tho' passing through *Brussels*, was not made acquainted with this Negotiation, is no less a Mistake, for he came not to *Brussels* at that Time: And being not let into any such Negotiation, implies; as if he knew nothing of it. Pray how came he then to have written before to the Duke of *Lorraine*, recommending this thing then in Agitation? And as to the Marquis of *Newcastle*, and other *English* Privy Counsellors then at *Munster*, being not visited, if true, signifies very little, tho' intended as an Aggravation by the Historian. For Discretion, and Secrecy in such great Trusts, are very commendable; and if any of that Country at all, besides those fully authorized, ought to have

been consulted with in that Affair; sure Sir *Henry de Vic*, his Majesty's then Resident in *Flanders*, was preferable to any of the rest: And this very Gentleman, together with Sir *George Ratcliff*, Governor of the Duke of *York*, had some Months before heartily recommended the entering into the said Treaty, to his Highness of *Lorrain*; and particularly his taking *Ireland*, and the Confederate Catholics, into his Protection; which afterwards has been so much excepted against. And finally, that the Commissioners had very frankly offer'd to the Duke of *Lorrain* so much of the Kingdom as was in Possession of the Catholick Confederates, and the rest, when it should be recover'd; as also to acknowledge him absolutely as their King, is a Charge, Malice it self could hardly fix upon them. And yet the Author could say no less, after what he had advanc'd; otherwise Coherence would be wanting in his Account, which he endeavours every where to preserve. But it appears by all the Steps of the Treaty, from first to last, that neither the Duke of *Lorrain* expected, nor the Commissioners propos'd, such an exorbitant thing; as delivering up to him so much of the Kingdom as was yet in Possession of the Confederates, as likewise the rest, when it shou'd be recover'd

cover'd from the Parliament, and to obey him absolutely as their Prince. The Treaty it self, at first view, will clear the Matter; for it gives to the Duke but the chief Command of the Army, reserving to the King's Military Officers all inferior Posts therein: as also to the Civil Magistrate, Jurisdiction, Superintendency, and every other Prerogative, belonging to the Crown, except as aforesaid. As to the Possession of Places to be given, it related to no more than four, or five at most; and these only as Security for Repayment of the growing Expences of the War, and what had been already disburs'd by him for the necessary Occasions of the said Confederates: to which alone, under God, their Preservation was then owing. But to obey him absolutely as their Prince, wou'd be not only unreasonable in any to attempt, but much more than he demanded: and the Protectorship it self, how much soever disrelish'd by some, was with all the Cautions imaginable declar'd to be in Subordination to the King's Right, and only till the Debts contracted shou'd be paid, and no longer. Nor does the Limitation *to him, his Heirs and Successors*, under that Restriction, imply more, and might have been as well left out. Concerning a Disposition, or Inclination to give away the Sovereignty

reignty of the Kingdom from the Crown of *England*; howsoever some of the old Natives might have been still thought to stand affected towards it, from an Opinion of too much Rigor and Injustice heretofore us'd towards them, which length of Time, and a lively Sense of fresher Grievances (whether real, or imaginary, not now material) have quite obliterated, and put out of date; I have the Assurance to say, that none of *English* Extraction, either wish'd for, or favour'd any such Turn in the course of those Transactions; and therefore the Agents, and chief Managers herein, being such, and only such, the Charge or Reflection is not very just. For Sir *Nicholas Plunket*, Mr. *Geffrey Browne*, and the Lord *Taafe*, chosen Commissioners to act in that Treaty, not only derived themselves from *English*, by the Line of Agnation, or Male Descent, but have manifested, by their Conduct and Actions, that their Inclinations were so; having first well discharg'd themselves to the Marquis of *Ormond*, in Opposition to the Country Party, or those that found Fault with his Administration; and afterwards to his Deputy, our illustrious Author, by whom the two first were in a particular Manner recommended to him the said Marquis of *Ormond*, for their Sincerity to
both,

both, as has been hinted above. And as to the third Commissioner, the Lord Viscount *Taafe*, he had been sent abroad for Aids by the Marquis of *Ormond*, before his own Departure for *France*, and was ever known to be intirely devoted to the *Engliss* Interest: whereof his Majesty gives a clear Testimony by his Letter, here set forth page 135. Such an Instance, I doubt the Historian could scarcely produce with regard to his own Conduct. Then Colonel *Synet*, who is mention'd to have been sent thither with a Supply from the Duke of *Lorrain*; as likewise Father *George Dillon*, Uncle to the said Lord *Taafe*, who accompanied the Ambassador, and carried over five or six thousand Pounds Sterling from the said Duke to the Confederate Catholicks, were *Engliss* by Extraction, and consequently of the same Sentiments with the rest; and so was the Bishop of *Fernes*, *Nicholas Lynch*, (sent by the Clergy at the same time into *Flanders* to help forward the said Treaty). So that Providence it self seems to have order'd it so, that the Management thereof, and the Scheme from first to last, should be in such Hands, as would not be suspected of an Inclination to give, or transfer the Kingdom to a Foreigner. And if we may rely on the Account given by the

said Father *George Dillon* to the Lord Deputy, not contradicted any where; 'twas Sir *Henry de Vic*, his Majesty's Resident at *Brussels*, and Sir *George Ratcliff*, that made the first Motion to his Highness of *Lorraine*, touching the Protectorship of *Ireland*, as hath been said before; who could not be charg'd with any such Design, and yet the rest did nothing but in pursuance of that. Whence it is clear, that the Reflection is ill-grounded, and the Historian has not been careful enough to weigh well what he was delivering on the said Subject: much less the wrong Imputation, and Slur that should from thence ensue to the Nation, and Kingdom in general. Nor are these the only Slips of the Author, with relation to that People: his Charge against them, upon the first Commotion in the Year 1641, is every way as unaccountable: but pray hear himself thereupon.

“ There was (says he) a worse Accident,
 “ than all these, that fell out in the King's
 “ Stay in *Scotland*, and about the time of the
 “ two Houses reconvening, which made a
 “ wonderfully Impression upon the Minds of
 “ Men, and proved of infinite Disadvantage
 “ to the King's Affairs, which were then
 “ recovering new Life; and that was the
 “ Rebellion of *Ireland*, which broke out a-
 “ bout

" bout the Middle of *October*, in all Parts of
 " the Kingdom. Their Design upon *Dublin*
 " was miraculously discover'd, the Night
 " before it was to be executed, and so the
 " Surprizal of the Castle prevented: and the
 " Principal Conspirators, who had the
 " Charge of it, apprehended. In the other
 " Parts of the Kingdom, they observed the
 " time appointed, not hearing of the Mis-
 " fortune of their Friends at *Dublin*: a ge-
 " neral Insurrection of the *Irish* spread it self
 " over the whole Country in such an inhu-
 " mane and barbarous Manner, that there
 " were forty or fifty thousand *English* Pro-
 " testants Murther'd, before they suspected
 " themselves to be in any Danger, or could
 " provide for their Defence by drawing to-
 " gether into Towns, and strong Houses." *Lib. 4. p. 237.*

It may be offer'd in Justification of this
 Account, that others, who have expressly
 written of that Affair, exceed it in many Re-
 spects; and even from the Pulpit it self every
 Year, we have hideous Relations, that not
 only come up to, but very often out-do it;
 whence it is not to be admir'd, that, with the
 Vulgar at least, it is taken for Fact and
 Truth. But Men of impartial, good Sense,
 will not easily give into such Notions, with-
 out examining well into the bottom of 'em:
 and

and by how much more is the Historian bound up to it, that takes the right stating of the Matter upon himself, faithfully promising a full and clear Relation of things with Candor, and Veracity? Those that have treated of the said Transactions, besides the noble Lord, I now quote, discover themselves too much of a Party, to deserve Belief, and consequently not of sufficient Authority to be followed by Men of Solidity, and good Reflection. I might offer many Reasons, and Facts, in Opposition to what is said, but that the Subject is invidious, and little or no room left here to speak of it at large; therefore shall confine myself to two or three Instances only, which cannot be denied. But first I must beg leave to observe, that the Words of the Author do not seem to hang well together: for after telling us that about the middle of *October* 1641, the whole Kingdom broke out into Rebellion, he lays the Commencement of that Action on the very Day, the Design upon *Dublin-Castle* was to be executed (which every body knows to have been the three and twentieth of the same Month;) and that then the *Irish* fell upon the Protestants every where, before either they knew the Misfortune of their Friends at *Dublin*, or the other suspected themselves in
any

any Danger, or could provide for their Defence, by drawing together into Towns, and strong Houses: so that, in the first place, he makes the Troubles, or Rebellion, for so it is generally called, eight Days before it really was, and yet immediately refers the Beginning of it to the eighth Day following. For what other Meaning can these Passages have, *their Design upon Dublin was miraculously discover'd, the Night before it was to be executed, &c. In the other Parts of the Kingdom they observed the time appointed, &c.*

The *Irish*, in a Remonstrance, or Memorial of their Grievances, presented to the King at Oxford in 1643, amongst the rest complain much of the too great Rigour and Severity of the Lords Justices, viz. Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Burlace, in the beginning of the Troubles; who upon the Discovery of some *Ulster* Gentlemen designing to surprize the Castle of *Dublin*, in the Manner related before, had so treated them, that they were constrain'd to take up Arms for their own Defence, which the Law of Nature it self justifies. But at the same time, viz. A. D. 1641, the Inhabitants of the *English Pale*, comprehending four Counties adjoyning to *Dublin*, openly expostulated of a certain Proclamation, issued against all Papists, without Exception,

Exception, as concern'd in the Rebellion: which for their Satisfaction, the Lords Justices themselves, upon Discovery of the Blunder, rectified by another Proclamation issued afterwards; but whether the said Complaints were justifiable or not, I take not upon me here to determine. I shall only observe, that from the Precipitancy of the Charge of the first Proclamation, and Revocation of it by the second, 'tis very probable the said Justices left nothing extraordinary out in their Impeachments, that was real in it self, or might be justified, even by Circumstances. Now to draw near to the Accusation of the Historian, viz. that in the Month of *October* 1641, the *Irish* commenc'd Hostilities every where out of *Dublin*, and murther'd forty or fifty thousand Protestants in that Heat; to clear which, I think the Proclamation issued by the said Justices, dated the 8th of *February* next following, may be very Material, I mean such Parts of it as concern this Point. It begins thus:

It is well known to all Men, but more particularly to his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom, who have all gathered plentiful and comfortable Fruits of his Majesty's blessed Government; how abundantly careful his Majesty hath been in the whole course of his Government, &c.
and

and whereas divers Lords and Gentlemen of the English Pale preferred a Petition unto us, in Behalf of themselves, and the rest of the Pale, and other the old English of this Kingdom; shewing that whereas a late Conspiracy of Treason was discovered of ill-affected Persons of the old Irish; and that thereupon a Proclamation was published by us, wherein, amongst other things, it was declared, that the said Conspiracy was perpetrated by Irish Papists, without Distinction of any; And they doubting that by those general Words, of Irish Papists, they might seem to be involved, &c. We therefore to give them full Satisfaction (having indeed at that time great Confidence in their Loyalty) did by Proclamation dated the 29th of October 1641, declare and publish that by the Words Irish Papists, we intended only such of the old meer Irish in the Province of Ulster, as were then Actors in that Treason, and others who adhered to them: and that we did not, any way, intend or mean thereby, any of the old English of the Pale, nor of any other Parts of this Kingdom, then esteemed good Subjects, &c. In the last they proscribe or outlaw sixty four only in the whole Kingdom, and these within the Counties following, viz. Down, Cavan, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Armagh, Monaghan, Wicklow, Wexford, King's-County, Queen's-

Queen's County, Longford, Kildare, Meath, and Dublin, setting a Price upon each of their Heads, whether dead or alive: and a Pardon of all Offences to such others as might stand in need of it.

Now there is not one Word here of either of the Provinces of *Munster* or *Conaught* in Particular, nor any one of the Inhabitants thereof proclaim'd; which being in a general Proclamation, is a strong Argument there was not any Hostility, or Massacre hitherto committed therein; and therefore the Historian's Charge is too general, and extensive.

The second Instance, I bring, is a Letter, or rather the Minutes of a Letter of the very Author of these Memoirs, enter'd upon the Journal of the House of Lords in *England*, *the 29th of November 1641*, in these Words:
 " Next a Letter was read, written to the
 " Lord Chamberlain, from the Earl of St.
 " *Albans*, dated the 14th of *November 1641*,
 " from *Ireland*. The principal Particulars
 " were these; That the Town of *Gallway*
 " in *Ireland* is well fortified, and in Com-
 " mand of *Mr. Willoughby*: That that Pro-
 " vince, wherein his Lordship is, doth ut-
 " terly dislike the Proceeding of the Rebels:
 " That the County of *Meath* is quiet: That

Conaught.

“ 2000 Rebels in *Lisrum* are gone out, and
 “ four Towns stand out: That it is a thing
 “ of Consequence that *Bryan O'Runk*, here in
 “ *England*, should be secured: as he conceived
 “ him to be dangerous in this time of Rebel-
 “ lion in *Ireland*, if he should escape.

“ That the whole Province of *Munster* is
 “ yet quiet; and lastly his Lordship ended
 “ with a Protestation of his Faith, and Loy-
 “ alty to the Crown of *England*, which he
 “ bears, and will die in the same, and will
 “ employ all his Strength and Endeavours,
 “ to assist the King for the Suppression of
 “ the Rebels.

“ Thereupon the Lord Chamberlain was
 “ commanded by this House to let the Earl
 “ of *St. Albans* know, that this House is
 “ satisfied with his Loyalty, and Faith, to
 “ the Crown of *England*, and returns him
 “ Thanks for the same; and his Care in as-
 “ sisting the Suppression of the Rebels: and
 “ this House thinks fit, he should have a
 “ Troop of Horse in *Ireland*. The said Let-
 “ ter of the Earl of *St. Albans*, communicated
 “ by Order to the House of Commons; and
 “ Arms for thirty Men, and Horses, ordered
 “ to be sent by the Lord Lieutenant of *Ire-*
 “ *land* from *England*, to the Earl of *St. Al-*
 “ *bans* to *Galloway*, &c.

This

This Dispatch, or Letter, from so honourable a Personage, as it fortifies the said mentioned Proclamation of *October*, and receives it self farther Strength from, and is fully confirmed by the Proclamation of the 8th of *February* next following, with respect to the quiet and peaceable State of the two Provinces of *Munster* and *Conaught*, long after the Beginning of the Rebellion, which is the main Design of the Quotation; contradicts the Historian, and consequently his early Massacre, and Hostility not so extensive in *Ireland*, as he represents them, being exclusive of those two Provinces: the contrary whereof he has with so much Heat, and Vehemency advanced. And that this was his own genuin Sense, upon serious Thoughts, or when he was in Temper, may be gather'd from another Part of his said History, where he speaks thus.

L. II. p. 157.

“ The Seat of the old *Irish*, who retained
 “ the Rites, Customs, Manners, and Ignorance of their Ancestors, without any kind
 “ of Reformation in either, was the Province of *Ulster*, not the better cultivated by the Neighbourhood of the *Scots*,
 “ who were planted upon them in great
 “ Numbers, with Circumstances of great
 “ Rigour. Here the Rebellion was first contrived,

"trived, cherished, and enter'd upon, with
 "that horrid Barbarity by the *O Neils*, the
 " *Macguires*, and the *Macmahons*; and tho'
 "it quickly spread it self, and was enter-
 "tained in the other Provinces, many Per-
 "sons of Honour and Quality engaging
 "themselves by degrees in it, for their own
 "Security, as they pretended, to preserve
 "themselves from the undistinguishing Seve-
 "rity of the Lords Justices, who denounced
 "the War against all *Irish* equally, if not
 "against all *Roman* Catholicks: Which
 "kind of Mixture, and Confusion, was care-
 "fully declined in all the Orders and Dire-
 "ctions sent to them out of *England*, but so
 "unskilfully pursued by the Justices, and
 "Council there, that as they found them-
 "selves without any Imployment or Trust,
 "to which they had chearfully offer'd their
 "Service, they concluded that the *English*
 " *Irish* were as much in the Jealousy of the
 "State, as the other, and so resolved to pre-
 "vent the Danger, by as unwarrantable
 "Courses, as the rest had done.

As to his Massacre of forty, or fifty thou-
 sand Protestants, under the first Stroke of the
 Rebellion over the whole Kingdom, except
Dublin, sure as the said Hostilities related
 not to a Moiety of the Kingdom, compre-
 hending

hending *Conaught* and *Munster* aforesaid, the Slain ought to diminish in Proportion, and be reduced to one half, or thereabouts, of the Calculation; but even in the other Moiety (supposing it to have had a greater Extent, than a Part of the Province of *Ulster*; to which the fore-mentioned Proclamation of the 8th of *February* 1641, and the Historian himself upon second Thoughts, seem to restrain it) whether the Proportion will hold: tho' it be a copious Subject, and I not unprepared, yet shall forbear speaking to it at present, because it is foreign to the Business I am upon; and a superficial handling a Matter of that Weight, would be intirely to spoil it. This Digression is to shew that the Historian, when he treats of the *Irish* Affairs in his ill Hours, is mostly of a piece, indulging more his Passion, than Truth and Reason, which ought to be the constant Guides of a Writer, such as he affected to be. But as the late ingenious Sir *William Petty* in his political View of *Ireland*, being upon the same Subject, viz. the Protestants slain, or murther'd in the said Kingdom; the Number of whom he supposes in the first whole Year of the War, might be thirty seven thousand at most, advises, that such as had exceeded that Number, (and some have gone

to several hundreds of thousands) ought to review the Grounds of their Opinion; 'tis probable that the Earl of *Clarendon* had done the like; and made some amends to a People, so much injur'd by him, had not the Weight of his own Misfortunes, crowding in towards his latter Years, given him too great a Feeling, to mind any thing else afterwards: And although Emulation and Envy might have rais'd him Enemies amongst his Countrymen, while he was so much in Favour with his Prince; yet that Malevolence ended with his Life, and grateful Posterity has not been wanting to pay that Deference to his Memory, it deserves. For within these few Months, I have seen my self a costly Statue of his carried, like that of a *Thucydides*, or *Xenophon*, to be set up at the great Fountain-head of Learning. Doubtless the Members of that wise Body took all his historical Performances to have the same Weight, and Accuracy, with that Part that relates to *England* alone, whereof they could be better Judges than of the Transactions of the *Irish* or *Scotch*. The last indeed much complain of him, as a partial Writer, with relation to their Nation; and as to the former, some imagine, their Treatment in his History is the least Injury he has done them.

Mr. Cox, (now Sir *Richard Cox* of *Ireland*) speaks also of the *Lorrain* Negotiation in his general History of *Ireland*, written and publish'd about the Beginning of the late Revolution, or soon afterwards, when the *Irish* had with open Arms receiv'd in, and stood up for King *James*; which History it seems, Resentment and Spleen, from the unpleasant Situation of Affairs then, had a good Share in the forming of; for it carries so much of the Air and Complexion of Satir, that it will gain but very little Credit with those that are not influenc'd by the same Prejudices, the Author was at that time. As to the Subject in hand, the Negotiation aforesaid, he makes a meer Jest of it; as set on foot by the Duke of *Lorrain*, only to gain a certain Point at the Court of *Rome*, which he was then Solliciting; but never design'd to be prosecuted with Effect: which you may better take from himself, in his own Words.

L. 2. p. 25.

“ Nor must it be omitted, that the Duke
 “ of *Lorrain* sent his Agent, Colonel *Oliver*
 “ *Synor*, into *Ireland*: he landed on the 29th
 “ of *April* 1650, and made a great Noise of
 “ his Master's Affection to the King, and his
 “ Zeal to the Catholick Religion, and pre-
 “ tended that he had brought Money with
 “ him; and that he would lend ten thousand
 “ Pounds

“ Pounds for his Majesty’s Service, on the
 “ Mortgage of any Town, or Fort that was
 “ considerable. Whereupon, the Lord Lieu-
 “ tenant appointed the Lords *Taafe*, and
 “ *Athenry*, and *Geffrey Browne* to treat with
 “ him, and proposed to mortgage *Gallway*
 “ for that Sum; but at length it was found
 “ to be a Juggle on *Synor’s* Side, and that
 “ either he had no Money, or no Intention
 “ to part with it.

“ And the Secret of this Affair is, that
 “ the Duke of *Lorrain* was engaged in a
 “ Negotiation at *Rome* to Legitimate some
 “ Children, that he had by *Madam de Cause*
 “ *Croix*, in the life-time of his first Wife,
 “ *Nichole de Lorrain*; and the easier to ac-
 “ complish his Design, he dissembled such
 “ an extraordinary Zeal for Religion, as
 “ would transport his Arms into *Ireland*, to
 “ the Relief of the Catholicks there. But
 “ when he had effected his Business at *Rome*,
 “ his Devotion to the *Irish* Service abated;
 “ so that being separately, and at several
 “ times solicited by the King, and by the
 “ Agents of the Confederates; to the first
 “ he answered, that the King had nothing
 “ left in *Ireland*, and to the others he an-
 “ swered, that he could not treat with them
 “ any farther, without the Approbation of
 c 3 their

“their King: And so with his usual Dexterity, he extricated himself out of this Affair.

The World would be much oblig'd for the Discovery of so important a Secret, (which no body else ever thought of,) if it might be depended upon for Truth; which is much doubted of still, notwithstanding the Assurance of this Assertion. Nor can it be well reconciled to Sense, and Reason; that so great a Prince would have trified with *Charles the III, King of England*, the Queen his Mother, and the Duke of *York*, by several Letters, under his Hand; would have sent an Ambassador expressly upon it into *Ireland*, fitted out four Frigats, and loaded them with Ammunition, and warlike Stores, besides twenty thousand Pounds ready Money (or Credit to raise it) to be given by the said Ambassador to the Confederate Catholicks; and all this only to obtain the Legitimation of two Children, born out of Wedlock (for so many there were.) at the Court of *Rome*, which was hardly worth asking, and could not have been well denied to a less considerable Person, when no body might be prejudic'd thereby; and, at the worst, would have cost no more than the expending some Money, to be applied to pious Uses, not amounting

mounting to one hundredth Part of the Charges of the other. As he had no Issue left, but the said Children, viz. the late Duke of *Vaudemont*, and one Daughter, to possess his Riches, (not including the Sovereignty of *Lorrain*, with the Dependencies of it, descendable only to his Nephew, Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, the present Duke's Father,) it could be no great Matter to obtain this Advantage for them, to be so far upon a Level with the first Rank of Subjects, whom they equall'd in Splendor, and every other Respect, when by the Legislature of his own Country the Duke might have done it, without being oblig'd to the Prelacy, or Church. And doubtless this Reason it self was enough to have made the Accomplishment of that Business very easy at the Court of *Rome*; so that there is hardly any Man of Brains, or Reflection, that will think himself oblig'd to Mr. *Cox*, for his Discovery, without making himself liable to many Absurdities at the same time: wherefore it were not amiss to search for the true Reason or Motive, that might have prevail'd with the Duke of *Lorrain*, to go upon such a Foreign, and very Expensive Undertaking, as this was; the Exigency of his own Affairs, as they then stood, being very great, which you have

from himself in his Letter of the 10th of September 1651, to the Lord Deputy, in the 148th Page of these Memoirs, wherein is this Expression. " Moreover the Satisfaction which the Queen, and the Duke of York, have shewn unto me, shall (as I hope) be followed by that of all good People, the Fidelity of whom hitherto appeared without Reproach, in a Time, when (it seems) they had no other Recourse, but to themselves. I do believe they will now continue to make it good, being (as they are) invited thereunto by the Part which I have taken in their Prefe-
 " vation, preferring it to that of my own Dominion, and to the urgent Necessities of my Affairs." Also in his Letter to the Corporation and City of *Galloway*, p. 171, he expresses himself to the same Intent. Whence it is clear, the said Motive was very powerful with him, to which he had postpon'd the very Care of his own Affairs, which he might have had most at Heart. And as far as I can guess, upon viewing these Memoirs, it was his own Generosity, and a friendly Regard to the singular Misfortunes of the Royal Family of *England*, that had first put him upon this Enterprize; the Treaty itself being only to settle the Method of Proceeding

ceeding in the Service, and making a Provision for the Repayment of the vast Expences, to be sustain'd by him in the Execution of it, upon which (without any manner of Reward) things were to return to their primary State and Condition; which being only my own Opinion, I humbly submit to better Judgment. For as Generosity, and Friendship, act first upon no other View, than serving the Urgent Occasions, or Necessities of those, they are excited to relieve: So there's no bargaining in the Case; the Satisfaction of doing good being the chief End propos'd therein, which (if I mistake not) was the very State of this Affair, both in its first Springs, and the Progress it afterwards had. It is likewise worth taking Notice of, that the Duke is mention'd in several Parts of these Memoirs, to have given singular Proofs of his Love, and Affection to the Royal Family, before either this Treaty was set on Foot, or so much as even thought of. The Lord Viscount Tassé's Letter to the Marquis of Ormond, p. 11, has this Passage. *His Highness upon all Occasions hath expressed a singular Affection to his Majesty, for the Advancement of his Interest, and therefore is not to be suspected to have any sinister Ends, not suitable to his former Proceeding.* And a little afterwards,

wards; No Prince in Christendom is either willing or able to afford (Assistance) as things now stand, but the Duke of Lorrain. So also page 23, where mention is made of his singular Affection to his Majesty of Great Britain: The same is acknowledg'd by King Charles the II^d himself, in his Letter to him, page 217, after this Manner. " So we have
 " left no Means within our Power unattempt-
 " ed to remedy the same, and are still most
 " ready to use our utmost Endeavours to pro-
 " cure any Relief for them. (*viz.* the Irish
 " Confederates.) But we must confess, that
 " in this sad Conjunction of our Affairs,
 " which is enough known to the World,
 " that Work seems almost desperate, with-
 " out some Conjunction in Catholick Prin-
 " ces, who for the Preservation of that Re-
 " ligion, and out of Compassion to so di-
 " stracted a Nation, may administer some
 " such Succour, as may prevent the imme-
 " diate Ruin of that People, and keep the
 " Rebels from an entire Possession of
 " that Kingdom, until farther Assistance
 " may be applied to it. And how to pro-
 " cure any such Conjunction, we know no
 " Way so good, or hopeful, as by the Me-
 " diation and Example of your Highness;
 " who besides several other Testimonies of
 " your

“ your great Affection to us, have lately
 “ given a full Evidence of your particular
 “ princely Care of that People, by sending
 “ them such an ample Supply and Assistance,
 “ as hath hitherto (next under God) alone
 “ preserved them from being swallowed up
 “ by their, and our Enemies.

These Testimonies, especially the Acknowledgment made by King *Charles* the Second, clearly shew his Highness of *Lorrain* by many Obligations, antecedent to this his princely Offer to rescue *Ireland* out of the Clutches of the Parliament, well deserved of the Royal Family in the great Calamity it fell into: but what were these Obligations in particular, being then well known to many, (as appears by the Testimonies here set down) we cannot now find out, tho’ some of ’em we may.

It is not improbable, considering the Necessities of the Queen, and such of her Royal Issue, as accompanied her self into *France*, or retir’d out of *England*, in the Distractions of the Times, which render’d them great Objects of Compassion, especially to such Princes, and States, as had a good Harmony and Correspondence with them before; the Duke of *Lorrain*, so generous and bountiful a Prince, might have shewn them some Marks of his Liberality in a Supply of Money,

ney, or other valuable Presents. For the Style of such of their Letters to him, as are exhibited in these Memoirs, is very Tender, and seems much to countenance this Opinion. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, frequently visited him in his Journies between *France* and *Holland*: and if we rightly weigh the Greatness of his Soul, and Opportunities given, he might perhaps have easily effected it. His Ability cannot be doubted of, since he then had his Dominions to support him, and yet stood at the Head of a powerful Army of his own in the *Netherlands*, being in the *Spanish* Pay, and consequently himself provided with an Allowance or Salary, suitable to the Numbers of Men he brought into the Field, besides his ordinary Domains, and accruing Revenue. Surely the vast Expences he was at in Supplies of warlike Stores, and ready Money sent to the King's Party in *Ireland*, upon the first Overture of the Treaty above-mentioned, and the Stipulations thereof, whereby he obliged himself to find all things that were necessary to support, or carry on the *Irish* War with Vigour, till the Parliament Forces shou'd be drove quite out of the Kingdom, evince the Greatness of his Ability. And as the Beginning was princely, and munificent
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on his Part; the Prosecution, without doubt, would have answer'd, but that the Undertaking it self was (by God's Permission) nipped in the Bud, and intirely disappointed.

There is another Instance of the same Friendship of this great Prince, which is extraordinary in its Kind, and the less to be pass'd over in Silence, in that there are undeniable Proofs of it, *viz.* Letters of Advice between King *Charles* the first, and his Royal Consort, intercepted by the Parliament Forces upon their Success at *Naseby*, and elsewhere; and that is an Aid of ten thousand Men, which he prepar'd, and actually had upon their Journey for Transportation into *England*, till the Misfortune of the said Prince, or rather the Farality of his Family, in being mis-led by treacherous Councils, put a Stop to them in their very March. For about the Beginning of the Year 1645, King *Charles*, finding the Obstinacy of the Rebels too stiff to be brought to a Sense of their Duty by fair means, and the War growing upon his Hands, wisely foresaw from the Difficulties he daily met with in repairing the Losses of his Armies by fresh Recruits, he must have soon stood in need of Foreign Assistance; and therefore sent Orders to his Ministers abroad, to sollicite the same to the best

best of their Endeavours, and especially to the Queen, who then was in *France*. That her Majesty for that end wou'd please to intercede with Princes, and States of the *Romish* Persuasion, promising from him in Return large Indulgencies to the *English* Subjects of their Religion, and the abolishing, or taking off the Penal-Laws, therein intrusting her with his Power, and Royal Authority: to which Intent is his Letter from *Oxford* to her of the 25th of *March*, 1648. For that great Princess, no less remarkable for external Beauties, than the Excellencies of the Mind, and a Wit well turn'd for State-Affairs, in Obedience to her Lord and Consort, set her self to work upon the Plan sent her, as aforesaid. What Success she had in this Negotiation, is partly hinted in a Report of the said Letters, made by a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to inspect the same, and shall be more particularly set forth underneath, as to what of it relates to the Duke of *Lorrain*. The Passage in that Report is this, which takes up the third Paragraph thereof.

The Queen appears to have been as harsh, and imperious, towards the King, as she is implacable to our Religion, Nation, and Government. She doth the Office of a Resident, in France, to procure

procure Imbargoes of our Ships, to raise Foreign Forces against us: and in this she is restless to the Neglect of her own Health. She vows to die for Famine, rather than to fail the King in such like Negotiations.

She confines not her Agency to France, but solicits Lorrain for Men, the Prince of Orange for Shipping: She sends Arms for Scotland to Montros, sends Colonel Fitz-William's Commission for Ireland, &c.

It is very true, that an Enemy, in the Bitterness of his Heart, speaking of his Adversary, will speak bad enough; but yet what can be greater to a Man's Thought, or more illustrious in the Memory of Posterity, than this Account of the Queen, tho' design'd to her Disadvantage by which also one may clearly see, what sort of Spirit influenc'd this Set of People, who would make Virtue it self a Deformity. 'Tis right enough; the Queen did not confine her Agency to France alone, but endeavour'd to sollicite Lorrain for Men, &c. What hopeful Prospect the said Negotiation gave her, in the very Beginning, you have in her Letter to the King, bearing date at Paris the 27th of January, 1643.

My dear Heart, &c. I received Yesterday Letters from the Duke of Lorrain, who sends

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me Word, if his Service be agreeable to you, he will bring you ten thousand Men. Doctor Goffe, whom I have sent into Holland, shall treat with him, in his Passage, upon this Business, and I hope very speedily to send good News of this, as also of the Money, &c. And accordingly the Event answer'd her Expectation, in the Conclusion of that Treaty, so that afterwards nothing remain'd, but to find safe Means for the Transportation of the said ten thousand Men to joyn the Cavalier Party in England: And hereupon many subsequent Letters pass'd between their Majesties, as that dated at Oxford on the 10th of February 1645, New Style. Dear Heart, I cannot yet send thee any certain Word concerning the Issue of our Treaty, only the unreasonable Stubborness of the Rebels, gives daily less and less Hopes of any Accommodation this Way: wherefore I hope no Rumours will hinder thee from hastening, all thou may, all possible Assistance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of Lorrain's: concerning which I received Yesterday good News from Doctor Goffe, that the Prince of Orange will furnish Shipping for his Transportation, and that the rest of his Negotiation goes hopefully on, by which, and many other Ways, I find thy Affection so accompanied with Dexterity, as I know not whether (in their several kinds) to
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esteem most. And that of *Thursday* the 27th of *March*, 1645. *Dear Heart*, I wrote to thee Yesterday by *Sackfield*: the Subject of it was only *Kindness*, &c. As for the main Impediment in the *Duke of Lorrain's Business*, which is his *Passage*, why may not thou procure him *Passage* through *France* (if that of *Holland* be stuck at) it will much secure and facilitate the *Sea Transportation*, in respect of *Landing* on the *Western Coast*, which I believe will be found the best, there being not so many *Places* to choose on, any where else; but this is an *Opinion*, not a *Direction*.

Postscript, I desire thee to command *Lord Jermin* to read to thee the *Doctor's Letter*, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that *Part* concerning the *Transportation* of the *Duke of Lorrain's Army*, &c.

Having maturely consider'd of that *Affair*, he confirms his *Opinion* by another *Letter*, dated three Days after the former, viz. on the 30th of the same Month; wherein is this *Paragraph*.—I must again tell thee, that most assuredly *France* will be the best way for *Transportation* of the *Duke of Lorrain's Army*, there being divers fit and safe *Places* of *landing* for them on the *western Coasts*, besides the *Parts* under my own *Obedience*, as *Shelsey* near *Chichester*,

chester, and others of which I will advertize thee, when the time comes.

There are some Circumstances of that Affair not set forth in their Majesties Letters, or such of 'em, as fell into the Hands of the Parliament, which are taken Notice of in the Dispatches of Ministers, employed therein: and amongst the rest, that of Dr. Goffe to the Lord Jermin, of April the 17th, 1645, from Holland. My Lord, &c. The Prince of Orange was very inquisitive this Week after my Letters from Paris; hoping to be resolved precisely concerning the Sum of the Portion, as I perceiv'd by his Discourse, &c. from whence we came off of the other Particulars, and the Resolution was this; that the Affair of the Duke of Lorraine was to be pursued with all Vigour, and for that end Ships should be sent from hence to meet at the time prefix'd, &c. So is that of the Lord Jermin to the Lord Digby, dated at Paris, May the 26th, 1645, when it seems that Project came to its full Maturity: The Part of the said Letter thereunto relating runs thus. The Duke of Lorraine hath again this last Week made so many new Protestations of his Intentions, that the most positive Commands, that could be to Sir Henry de Vic, have not prevail'd with him to break off

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the Treaty, but his Troops now march, though himself do not remain at Brussels: So that it will be impossible for any Art to prolong the Business beyond four or five Days; but there is no Hopes to be allowed it. And another of the Lord Jermin to the same Lord, dated at Paris, June the 9th in the said Year. My Lord, &c. I send you here inclosed Dr. Goff's last Dispatch, Word for Word: by that you will see the Estate of that Business: Sir Henry de Vic is now here; yesterday arrived with the Duke's last Demands: to-morrow he attends Cardinal Mazarine, and as soon as the Answer is gotten, and Queen Regent's Resolution, in a Supply of Arms and Ammunition, we have now demanded, Petit shall be dispatch'd, &c.

This is the full Extent of this Enterprize, as may be presum'd; and by whose Means it was stop'd, or laid aside, is very plain from the said last Dispatches of the Lord Jermin, who had the Sense of the Court, and seem'd to be much surpriz'd and troubled at the Forwardness of the Duke, to proceed in the said Expedition. Whether it was the Treaty then on foot in *England*, or some private Acting of the Court of *France*, or (which is most probable) Pensioners of the Parliament about the King, buzzing in his Ears the Scandal of a Popish Army to be brought into

England, which wou'd entirely disappoint any Accommodation with the Commons, and lessen his Authority with the People, that occasioned that fatal Stop, is not (that I know) yet ascertain'd: but it is visible the Cause of it was not on the Duke's side, who offer'd to go himself in Person; as may be gather'd out of the said Letter. Which Design, if it had taken Effect, the said Prince, as he was one of the bravest and most experienc'd Generals of the Age, 'tis probable being joyned with the Royal Party, would soon have given the War another Turn, and prevented the King's falling into so lamentable a Condition, as to seek Refuge with a Body of his Subjects, whom he had no great Confidence in before. Such Counsels as these would puzzle a Man to find out the reason of 'em; but that therein we must assign Part to an over-ruling Power, which sometimes suffers Wickedness to prosper; that afterwards Good may come of it.

Thus far I thought fit to trace the Generosity, and early Benefactions of the Duke of *Lorraine*, to the Royal House of the *Stuarts*: which will conduce much to discover the true Motives of the intended *Irish* Expedition, and the Obstructions that were given it, upon which I now enter. And I think there's no impartial,

impartial, or unbiass'd Man, upon full view of the whole Proceeding of the Duke therein, but will own, it was not only not design'd for a bare Colour, or Shew, without any real Design to go through with it, (as Mr. Cox would insinuate, as aforesaid) or to gratify the Natives of that Country in Prejudice of the Crown of *England*, as we have seen advanc'd by the noble Lord lately quoted; but merely to rescue the Nation from the violent Incroachment of the Parliament Party, to support the *Roman* Catholick Religion there, and (what is most becoming a Hero) to gain Glory, and Renown, both with Relation to himself, and the King's Cause, then sinking, and almost at the lowest Ebb. I would not be understood, as if I design'd this previous Animadversion to impose upon the Reader, or dispose him to entertain the same Opinion with my self. Being not a Stranger to most of the Occurrences of those Times, I have at the request of a Friend carefully examined these Memoirs; in order to add something by way of Introduction, that should contribute to clear the whole, by collecting, and bringing together, the most material Parts, lying scatter'd up and down; that is to say, the Tendency, and Scope of 'em, without which no true Notion could

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be easily form'd; which I have done in the Manner you see, whether right or wrong, the thing it self (upon due Consideration had of the whole) will shew; and every one is at full Liberty to form his own Judgment upon it.

The Affairs of *Ireland*, from the date of the Peace concluded between the Marquis of *Ormond* in Behalf of the King, and Body of the *Roman* Catholicks there, in *January* 1648 Old Style, to the end of *September* 1650, about nineteen Months, drew the Eyes of all *Europe* that Way, by the stupendous Losses of the Royal Party, who tho' much Superior in Forces, and possess'd of the whole Kingdom, except two Towns, *Dublin* and *Londonderry*, and these two not well fortified, and but meanly provided with warlike Stores; yet, by that time, lost it all Piece-meal in a manner without Blows, to a little Nook of the Country consisting of some small Tracts of Land within *Conaught*, and *Munster*, divided from the rest of the Kingdom for the most part by the River *Shanon*, into which they were compelled to retire with their Troops; a few insignificant Parties only excepted, that kept in Fastnesses, and Places of difficult Access. I shall not take upon me here to assign the Causes, whether owing to
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the Diffidence and Mistrusts, which most of the Catholick Confederates still entertain'd of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Protestant Troops of *Munster* of the Parliament Party, constrain'd by the Lord *Insequeen*, their chief Commander, to come in to him upon his late Arrival; or to Inactivity, and Misconduct in the Generals; or even to Destiny it self, and a superior Direction of Providence, to make things answer its own ends, or perhaps to all concurring together. 'Tis certain this Train of singular Misfortunes, one treading close upon the Heels of another, occasioned a great Noise in the World, and made various Impressions, according as Princes and States stood affected to either Side. Among the rest, his Highness of *Lorrain*, having a Concern, as well for the Royal Family, then nearly stript of three Kingdoms; as also for a Nation of his own Religion, now upon the very brink of Ruin, and proposing to himself great Advantages, and an access of Glory, if by interposing his Authority, and Forces, he could rescue both; and this perhaps he did not think very difficult, in regard there was no want of Men, or natural Strength on the Confederates side; who being spirited, and rightly ordered under good Conduct, might in a little time retrieve all

the Losses, hitherto sustain'd ; and that the Undertaking it self, even though it should meet with Disappointment, would nevertheless be glorious to him, not only with the present, but future Ages, and all Posterity: 'Tis probable this was the Motive, that Martial Prince had, being conscious of his own Abilities; and that it was by Instinct thereof, he then sent an Agent into *Ireland*, to feel the Pulse and Inclinations of the People, whether they would invite him over to unsheath his Sword in their Quarrel, and try what true Courage, and warlike Discipline wou'd do. Mr. *Cox* tells us, the Agent sent, was Colonel *Oliver Synor*, and the time of his Landing to have been the 29th of *April 1650*; but, after his own Way, makes nothing of it, and ridicules the said *Synor*, setting him off for an Impostor, as may be seen by his own Words quoted before. *But at length it was found to be a Juggle on Synor's side, &c.* I shall rather incline to the contrary, because it was soon afterwards, the Lord *Taafe* was dispatch'd over to the King into *France*, humbly to beg that his Majesty would earnestly intercede with foreign Princes for immediate Assistance, to prevent the impending Ruin of the only visible Party then left him; which in all likelihood was principally undertaken on the

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Offers made by the said Agent in Behalf of his Master. And the Queen's two Letters, with that of the Duke of *York*, on the same Subject here exemplified, particularly shew that the Negotiation for Assistance, which the Lord *Taaffe* was charg'd with to him, had its Beginning in *Ireland*, upon the Propositions deliver'd by his Highness's Agent there: This is further confirmed by a Passage of the Lord *Taaffe*'s first Letter, to the Marquis of *Ormond*, in these very Words. *The Duke of Lorrain, when first I moved him by Letter for concluding the Treaty, set on foot by his Agent, &c.* But the said Lord upon his Arrival at *Paris*, finding the King (whom he was to consult concerning the said Treaty in View) was gone on the *Scotch* Expedition, immediately sent his Dispatches after him; and in the mean time, lest the Duke should cool in the generous Design manifested by him, or think himself neglected in the least, wrote to him as aforesaid, probably acquainting him with the reasons of some Delay, in hopes of the King's Answer to his Dispatches; without which (if not soon had) he would proceed in his Journey to *Brussels*; thinking himself sufficiently qualified otherwise, viz. by the Queen, who had been charg'd with the *Irish* Affairs by the King

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her Son, before his Departure; as his own Letter to the said Lord *Taafe* testifies; and accordingly, he soon set out for *Flanders*, with the Queen's Letters to authorize his Proceeding. The issue of this was, that upon Communication had with the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Highness being fully convinc'd, that the Matter was upon a legal Footing, consented to send over his prime Minister into *Ireland*; so to settle the Conditions of the Treaty with the Body of the Nation upon the Spot, that it might receive afterwards such a Sanction, or Ratification, as should be needful: and as a mark of his Sincerity, advanced five or six thousand Pounds Sterling for the present Occasions of the People, besides what his said Minister had Orders to do upon the Success of his Negotiation. He generously at the same time encourag'd the said Lord (who, it seems, had form'd a Design to reduce the Isle of *Guernsey* to the King's Obedience) with a Promise of Shipping, Men, Provision, and all other Necessaries for the said Undertaking. This deserves particular Notice here, as being different from, and very wide of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and consequently argues, that the serving his Majesty, and the Royal Family, was a Motive which prevail'd with the Duke then, how much soever he may have been since

since misrepresented by some Writers. The said Lord *Taafe* also knew very well the great Extremity the Royal Party in *Ireland* was reduc'd to, even before his own coming away from thence; and that the Marquis of *Ormond* had determin'd to return soon to *France*, in regard of the small Hopes he had of retrieving Matters, and the Despondency of the People under his Administration: which then upon a Conjecture of his Departure, was the chief Reason, why the Duke's Letter, together with the Credentials of his Ambassador, are directed to the Nation of *Ireland* in general, and not to any Viceroy, or Governor in chief there. Nor does the Lord *Taafe's* Dispatch to the Marquis of *Ormond*, sent thither at the same time, imply the contrary: for that was to inform him of his Success, in case by any intervening Accident, he had been hitherto put off, or delayed. But upon the Ambassador's Arrival, when he found there was a Deputy left by the said Marquis, to act in the same Capacity under him, for the King and People, he would not shew his Credentials to any other; and signified the same to the Marquis of *Clanricarde*, who was the said Deputy, by Father *George Dillon*, desiring he would please to appoint a Time, and Place for his Audience, which is particularly

cularly set forth here, in the very Beginning; whereupon, it seems, the Lord Deputy sent four of the Commissioners of Trust (hereafter to be explain'd as to their Charge) to inspect his Powers, and give him Notice thereof; which being done, and the Ambassador duly advertis'd, he had his Audience at *Tyrellan*, on the 7th of *March* following. This Ceremony being over, the said Father *Dillon* thought fit to deliver him the said Dispatch or Letters, he brought to the Marquis of *Ormond*, by which he might be fully informed of the Ends of the said Embassy; which were no sooner read, than they put him quite out of Humour; so that he never afterwards did, nor would entertain any favourable Thought of the Expedient, or give it the least Countenance. Whatever his Reasons might have been, or whether they were upon any particular Views to himself, is difficult to guess at this distance of Time; but it is evident enough, upon the proceeding, that he dissented therein, not only from the Nation under his Care in general; but also from her Majesty, who had with so much Earnestness and Care recommended the Treaty to his Highness of *Lorrain*; from the Duke of *York*, who after his Letter of the 25th of *July* for promoting the same, had been himself in Person

Person in *November* following at *Brussels*, to press the Matter, as you have it in *Father Dillon's Relation*, page 69; from the King's Resident *Sir Henry de Vic*, and *Sir George Ratcliff*, then at *Brussels*, who did the like; even from the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the King himself, who by their several Letters to the said Lord *Taafe* encouraged the Negotiation; tho' the Authority of the Queen alone, with the Concurrence of the Nation, had been sufficient in that Case. As to their Unanimity in this Disposition, many Instances may be brought to clear it; one only Passage out of the first of the said two Letters to the Marquis of *Ormond* from the Lord *Taafe* (who about that time had the honour to be conversant with them all) will do it effectually; and it is in Substance, that there was no possibility of his Majesty's Subsistence in *Scotland*, but by continuing a War in *Ireland*, or recovering of it; which, without Foreign Assistance was not to be done; nor even that it self to be had from any other Potentate in *Europe*, but the Duke of *Lorrain* alone. Page 17.

'Tis not my Design to lean hard upon the Memory of a noble Lord, whose Conduct, and Loyalty, in this Transaction it self, had particular Encomiums, before he went off the Stage;

Stage; who as he look'd farther, perhaps, than other People, 'tis possible he apprehended, a Condescension to the said Treaty, would bring in time a Diminution to the Rights of the Crown and the Royal Prerogative in that Country, which he had been sworn to maintain, and thought that to be his Duty, as a Subject. However, finding himself but one Man (tho' vested with high Authority) against a Multitude, or the entire Body of the People; he endeavour'd to bring over by Argument, and wholsome Representations, many of the leading Men to his Side: and it was in that View, to all Appearance, that he call'd a General Assembly, maturely to canvass the Matter.

It may not be improper here, to touch a little upon the General Assemblies, and the Commissioners of Trust, so often mentioned in these Memoirs, and elsewhere. The first was in the Nature of a Parliament, vested with the Supreme Authority; that is to say, assum'd by them, in the Beginning of the Troubles. It was to meet as often as there should be Occasion, and at least once a Year. In the Intervals, the Administration was plac'd in a Junctō of twenty four, call'd by them a Supreme Council, equally chosen out of the four Provinces, *viz.* six out of each, where-
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of twelve made a *Quorum*, and was always to be fitting. As these receiv'd their Authority from the Publick Assembly, they were under any Alteration, Direction or Regulation, therein made, and subject even to be cashier'd, and others put into their Places. That Form of Government lasted from *October* 1642 (when it was first settled) to the Conclusion of the Peace in *January* 1648, made with the Marquis of *Ormond*, sent over from *France* by the Queen and Prince, for that end; at which time the General Assembly, before resigning the Supreme Authority, (assum'd as aforesaid) constituted Twelve, vested with a Trust from the Nation, to inspect, and authorize Matters along with the Lord Lieutenant; that is, all publick Acts, and every thing else that should be of any Moment or Consequence to the People; so far, that (without their Concurrence, or the major Part of 'em) nothing done shou'd be binding, or of any Force; Provision being made to supply Vacancies, if by Death, or otherwise, any should happen. These were to continue in the Co-administration, 'till the Articles of Peace should be confirm'd by Act of Parliament; which being so settled by the Stipulations of the Treaty, the General Assembly broke up, reducing themselves to their first State,

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viz. that of mere Subjects; which Assembly nevertheless might be afterwards conven'd in a legal Manner, as the Body or Representatives of the Nation, to concur with the Royal State in making of Laws, imposing Taxes, and the like, as is usually now done. And it was under this Qualification, that the General Assembly ever afterwards met, and that upon previous Summons or Directions from the Viceroy, or his Deputy. So that the first sort of General Assemblies still subsist in the second; except that the Administration, and Supreme Authority were resign'd in the Treaty aforesaid. But the Power of the Supreme Council was almost all deriv'd upon the Commissioners of Trust; as succeeding them; save only, that of themselves alone, they could not do any thing of publick Concern, without the Concurrence of the chief Governors, nor *vice versâ*, he without them. This being the express Provision relating to the Commissioners of Trust, stipulated, and agreed to in the said Treaty, as appears by authentick Copies of it, I could not but much admire, that upon Search, I could not find it in that, given by Mr. Cox, in the Appendix to his History, tho' indeed implied almost in every Article of it; who also leaves out many things in the *Lorrain* Treaty, which
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are fully set forth in these Memoirs; as will appear to any, upon comparing both. The Author of a Book lately come to light, under the wrong Title (as I take it) of *the Earl of Clarendon's Memoirs of the Rebellion, and Civil Wars of Ireland, &c.* (who probably liv'd in the time of the Civil Wars, whereof he has left this Piece behind him :) tho' he endeavours, almost every where, to justify the Conduct of the Marquis of Ormond, which seems to have been the whole Scope of his Writing; yet has not the Assurance to deny the Power of the Commissioners of Trust, joyn'd in Authority with him by the Confederate Catholicks, as related above. His Passage upon that head is thus, *The General Assembly that made the Peace, appointed twelve Commissioners, vested with Authority, to assist, and see the Articles thereof were executed, till they should be confirmed in Parliament, and be Sharers with him in the Administration, and Authority, &c. whereby the unlimited Power of the Lord Lieutenant was curb'd, and reduc'd to narrow Bounds.*

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To return where I left off before: the Lord Deputy being out of Humour, upon Discovery of the Design of the *Lorrain Treaty*, to know the Inclinations and Sense
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of the People in relation thereto, convok'd a General Assembly at *Gallway*, which accordingly met. Upon opening the Assembly on the 8th of *March*, Father *George Dillon* gave in Proposals in behalf of his Highness of *Lorraine*, to be consider'd of by them; a Copy whereof was sent to the Lord Deputy; the Contents are, *First, that Thanks shou'd be return'd by them to his Highness for his generous Offer to rescue the Nation, and Kingdom of Ireland, from Wreck and Destruction: That he would be pleas'd, for Preservation thereof, and his Majesty's Interests therein, to take into his Protection the Native Subjects of the said Kingdom, and all that would adhere to them, &c.* This Overture seem'd too bold to be well relish'd by the Lord Deputy, because inconsistent with the King's Authority, (as the Note there in the Margin mentions) but being resolved in the Affirmative by the Assembly, it very much increas'd his Uneasiness. The said Resolution was sent to his Excellency the next Day following, shap'd to this Purpose, viz. that the Assembly is humbly of Opinion, his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine* ought to be invited, to take upon him the Protection of *Ireland*, saving the King's Right, and Prerogatives, &c. no other

ther visible Means being left to prevent its Ruin. To this his Lordship makes Answer, by Letter of the 12th of the said Month, directed to the Commissioners, and Prelates in Gallway: which Direction seems to have been by Mistake, or writ on Purpose to lessen the Authority of the Assembly, that represented the Nation. For the Lord Archbishop of Tuam's Letter to his Excellency, dated the 21st of the same Month, puts that out of all Doubt, in the very Beginning, which is this. *My Lord, The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Gentlemen, now assembled at Gallway, convened by your Excellency's Authority, &c.* and the Lord Deputy's own Letter of the 22d, under the following Superscription, *To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights and Gentlemen, now convened at Gallway:* so that naming the Commissioners is quite out of the Case, who if then in the State-Convention, or Assembly, sat only as Members there, and not under their other Capacity, which they were not to exert, but in concert with the chief Governour. In the said Letter of the 12th of *March*, his Lordship giving way, as it appears, to the Resolution above-mentioned, desires that Time and Place may be set to treat with the Ambassador: but having fully weighed, and bal-

lanced the Matter by the 18th, he then writes a long Letter to the Assembly, wherein he uses many Reasons and Arguments against the said Expedient propos'd by them; and amongst the rest, by a seeming Concession, allows invincible Necessity, and Self-preservation, to be very strong on their Side; yet concludes the same to be of less Weight and Consequence, than keeping the present Form of Government, tho' maintainable only upon a remote Possibility of receiving Foreign Aids from some other Prince or State than the Duke of *Lorrain*. Which Aids, he thinks, might probably be then on their Way for *Ireland*. In the last Part, he appoints the Committee, sent first to confer with the Ambassador upon his Arrival, together with the Lord Viscount *Cosselo*, to go and treat with him only for Succours from his Master the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon Security of Satisfaction to be given in his Majesty's Name; referring the Part of the Proposals, and Resolution which related to the Protectorship, &c. to be settled in a subsequent Treaty at *Brussels*, for which he would send over Commissioners duly qualified. Accordingly the Ambassador being waited upon, made a civil Answer, implying that he was

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very well pleas'd, the Negotiation shou'd have its final Conclusion at *Brussels*, wherein he wou'd perform good Offices, in Regard to the *Irish* Nation; but as to present Supplies, he could give none, upon a Treaty that had no other Advancement.

It is not unlikely this Answer, howsoever relish'd by the Deputy, to whom it was reported by the Committee, gave a mighty Concern to the Assembly, because they clearly saw thereby, the Treaty was as good as broke off; and highly apprehended, that the Ambassador would not part with any present Help, without which they could not stand their Ground against the incroaching Enemy. Hereupon they thought it necessary to make another Effort upon the Lord Deputy, to bring him to a Compliance with their Resolution by the means of the Archbishop of *Tuam*, much esteem'd by his Excellency; who wrote the Letter of the 22d (quoted above) to him, in the Name of the Assembly, with inclosed Articles; setting forth their Resolution at a greater Length; and specifying, that the Civil Government remaining to the King's Officers or Magistracy, as before, the Protectorship of the Nation, with the Command of the Army, shou'd be plac'd in his Highness of *Lorrain*, to whom also the

Towns of *Gallway, Limerick, Athlone* and *Sligo*, shou'd be secur'd, as a Caution, or Mortgage, for answering the Expences he shou'd be at in preserving the Nation.

This bold Attempt, reviv'd all the former Resentments of his Excellency, who thought that by putting off the Treaty, he had stem'd the Tide for a time; and was not without Hopes of obtaining some present Relief from the Ambassador to support the Government. For what wou'd a Negotiation afterwards at *Brussels* signifie, toward the saving a Kingdom, that otherwise must inevitably be lost and gone, to all the Parties? But as to the Assembly, he charges them home in a Letter, dated the next Day, viz. the 22d of *March*, mention'd above, denying downright, that they are a General Assembly; tho' representing what of the whole Kingdom was in his Majesty's Obedience, and the prime Gentry, that had retir'd thither out of the other Parts, possess'd by the Parliament Forces. For, the reason of calling the Assembly, being to know the Sense of the Nation; without doubt it was as comprehensive and universal, as the sad Circumstances of the Time could permit; (see the Case and Condition of the Country, page 100.) and carrying the same Heat through, his Excellency

breaks

breaks off, by directing, that they shou'd all subscribe the Articles; and that the Committee before-named should wait on the Ambassador to have his Subscription likewise to the same; without which he wou'd not comply with them. Hereupon the Archbishop of *Tuam* writes another Letter, enforcing the Reasons of the former, and includes a Set of Articles, with little or no Variation from the other; but to no better Effect: Which being told to the Ambassador, he resolv'd to depart forthwith; and in order thereunto, desir'd Admission to take his Leave of the Lord Deputy at *Tyrellan*, the House or Place of his Residence; having prevail'd with Father *George Dilligan*, to go with that Message. But his Excellency being still out of Humour, refus'd seeing him, for several Reasons, which he then deliver'd by Word of Mouth, but afterwards had 'em reduc'd into Writing, and sent after Father *Dillon*, to help his Memory; which are to this Purpose, *viz.*

“ That he could not well receive Offers of
 “ Civility from a Person, that had put such
 “ Affronts upon the King his Master, and
 “ done such Injuries to his Honour and Interests, by the Proposals lately given in, and
 “ affirm'd by him to be his final Resolution;
 “ who by addressing himself to the Nation,

“ and Estates general of the Kingdom, after
 “ Notice had, that the King's Authority still
 “ remain'd there, yet in Prejudice thereto
 “ aim'd at setting up a free State in it, un-
 “ der the Royal Protection of his Master the
 “ Duke of *Lorrain*.

The Lord Deputy upon sending the Mes-
 sage aforesaid,resents the same Treatment a-
 gain, in a Letter of the 26th, directed to the
 Archbishops of *Tuam* and *Dublin*, with the
 Commissioners of Trust; and in another to
 the same Persons, dated the next Day, where-
 in he also observes; That should the Am-
 bassador depart from the other Part of the
 Proposals, yet as to the Towns to be offered
 for Security of Money, it could not be com-
 plied with; subjoyning his Reasons thereto;
 and therefore insists on the Proposals sent by
 him on the 18th, to be communicated by the
 Committee (which, as to the said Cautionary
 Towns, is quite blank against this Resolu-
 tion): Whether his Excellency being in a
 Transport, did not observe the Difference;
 or that he did it thoroughly to sift the Am-
 bassador, whether he had not a larger Power,
 than he declar'd upon his Arrival; or what-
 ever the Reason was, the thing it self gave no
 less Amazement, than Concern to the Assem-
 bly, who now look'd upon all their Hopes

to be blasted: And (as Men upon the sinking of a Ship, will struggle for Life in the very Waves, while they can,) they humbly besought the Ambassador, more especially the Prelates, to pity their forlorn Condition, and to vouchsafe the affording some small Relief at present, to put them in a Capacity of maintaining their Ground, till the main Articles shou'd be adjusted at *Brussels*; where the Negotiation cou'd not miss of Success, considering the Supreme Authority was all vested in her Majesty, who being assisted by the Advice of his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, (who so earnestly promoted it) and that of other Courtiers, favourable to the Design, would remove all the Obstacles rais'd on this Side. And it was the Will of God, that the Ambassador (whether he had any private Instructions for it, or solely out of Compassion, took the Matter upon himself) did condescend, upon their Request, to afford them twenty thousand Pounds for the present Occasions, upon the Security of *Limerick* and *Galloway*; referring the rest to be settled in Presence of his Master.

This great Point being thus gained, the News of it was carried to the Lord Deputy by the Bishops of *Down* and *Dromore*, sent on Purpose, which he made the less Difficulty

to comply with, in that it did not much vary from his first Proposals, lately insisted upon by him; and that he hop'd, by means of the said Supply, to withstand the further Progress of the Parliament Forces, and so promote the King's Affairs in *Scotland*, which was what he then would seem chiefly to square his Actions by. Therefore he not only accepted of the Offer, by the Hands of the said Prelates, in fully approving thereof, but also within a few Days signified the same by Letter to the Body of the Prelates, and Commissioners of Trust; wherein also he desires, they shou'd not be out of the way, till the said Agreement receiv'd its Accomplishment. For it seems now, this Business being over, the General Assembly broke up for that time. The Agreement or Contract was soon ingress'd, and Warrants prepar'd, to be directed to the Cities of *Limerick*, and *Galloway*, containing the Tenor of the Agreement; and specifying, that the Garrisons therein shou'd remain under the King's Officers, the Governors only to be of the Ambassador's Choice. The said Warrants bear date the 7th of *April*; for that of the last of *March*, directed for *Limerick*, was but a Draught, as appears by the date of the other: Yet the Articles of Agreement were not sign'd and executed, till the

the 4th of *May* following. But in the mean time, all other things were getting ready, and the Commissioners or Agents being nam'd, viz. *Sir Nicholas Plunket* Knt. and *Sir Geoffrey Browne* Esq; Barristers at Law; on the 10th of *April*, they receiv'd Credentials, with Instructions, both to them and the Lord Viscount *Taaffe* joyned in the same Commission; the Purport whereof is thus in Substance, viz. " That the said Agents, upon their landing, do wait on the Queen, the Duke of *York*, and Lord Lieutenant, and acquaint them with all the Particulars that had pass'd. That they do not treat for more than Supplies upon the Securities agreed upon before; yet that they consult, and receive further Orders from *Sir Henry de Vic*, the King's Minister at *Brussels*, or any other of his Ministers sufficiently authorized; finally, that they do not enter upon any thing else, without having express Command in Writing from the Queen, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant." The said Instructions go solely in the Style and Name of the Lord Deputy, and under his Authority and Signature; which looks somewhat strange, the said Authority being that derived from the Marquis of *Ormond*, and consequently under the Provision

Provision of the Peace of 1648, to which he had submitted; whereby the Commissioners of Trust were made Sharers in the Administration with him, and consequently ought not only to have concurr'd by being made Parties too, but also sign'd and seal'd any such Power or Instrument, relating to the Publick. For otherwise, how could it be discern'd that the said Power was good, or warrantable by the Constitution then in being? which probably the Marquis of *Ormond* himself had most times observ'd, during his own Administration, as may be gather'd from his Letter of *March* the 13th to the Lord *Taaffe*; wherein he seems to put the Commissioners upon a Level with the Lord Deputy, as to national Concerns. It must be own'd, that neither the Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy, ever lik'd that Restraint put upon the Prerogative, as aforesaid; and therefore endeavour'd several times to break through, or throw it off for good and all, which drew many Complaints against the first; and is clearly seen from the Behaviour of the last, on this Occasion; even by an early Attempt to prevail upon the General Assembly to recognize the Prerogative, as discharg'd of the said Restriction, before he shou'd enter upon the Functions of his Office, as the Act or Clause

Clause proposed by him to be added to the Declaration, then made by the said Assembly, shews; which is as follows, and may be seen in Mr. Cox. *Or set free, or discharge, the* Lib. 2. p. 53.

People, upon any Pretence whatsoever, from yielding Obedience to the Power and Authority intrusted by his Majesty in any Governour of this Kingdom, during the Continuance of his Commission, or the Power or Authority from thence derived. Which the Assembly unanimously refus'd to comply with, because it infring'd the Articles of the Peace, and the Authority thereby vested in the Commissioners of Trust, which was to continue inviolable till an Act of Parliament shou'd pass to confirm the Agreement, made and settled by the said Peace.

The Agents put to Sea on the 23d of May, and after a long and tedious Voyage, landed at *Amsterdam* on the 6th of June. They found the Lord *Taaffe* before 'em at *Brussels*, with whom having fully conferr'd about Matters; in regard that Refreshment and Rest were necessary for them, they sent their Commission, Instructions, and all the other material Papers they had, relating to the Negotiation, and (amongst the rest) the Propositions, or Articles, form'd by the General Assembly, to confer the Title of Royal Protector of *Ireland*, with the Command of the standing Forces,

Forces, &c. on the Duke of *Lorrain*, in the same Manner, as it is set forth and provided for, in the subsequent Treaty, (for so the Agents themselves declare in their Manifesto afterwards presented to him; *vide pag. 235.*) to be laid before her Majesty, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant if then there; which accordingly was done. And her Majesty having fully consider'd thereof, by the Advice of the Duke of *York*, and Lord Lieutenant, deliver'd 'em to the Lord *Taaffe*, to be by him carried back to the other Commissioners, together with her Letter to them; wherein she owns her self fully informed of all that had pass'd, with relation to *Ireland*, and the Necessity there was of hastening the Supplies now in Agitation, wherein she promises her best Endeavours; but in that, and every thing else relating to this Affair, she refers to the Lord *Taaffe*, to declare, and give her Sense to them. It appears there was a great deal of Caution taken in penning this Letter, to avoid naming Particulars; as the Protectorship of *Ireland*, and Command of the Army, to be given to a Foreigner; with Encouragement to re-establish the *Roman* Catholick Religion therein; which being discover'd, or brought to light (for *utcumq; verba volant littera scripta manet*) might expose

pose the King, and entirely ruin his Credit with the Presbyterian Party in *Scotland*; which was to be tenderly manag'd by him, and kept in very good Humour. For which reason also, as may be rationally conjectur'd, the Duke of *York* and the Marquis of *Ormond* forbore writing, to fullfil that Part of the Instructions, that related to them; so that the Lord *Taaffe* was left, as well to give their Sense therein, by Word of Mouth, as that of her Majesty, importing the Royal Authority. Then the King's Letter dated at *John's-Town* the 21st of *January*, conceiv'd with the same Precaution, as that of the Queen, through fear of the Presbyterian Party, in whose Hands he was, and equally exciting to the Treaty; besides the verbal Message sent by *Ransford* the Messenger (to whom he desir'd full Credit shou'd be given) referring all to her Majesty, fully impowered to authorize whatever shou'd be propos'd with Relation to *Ireland*. But the Lord Lieutenant's Letter, dated the 13th of *March* next following, was more open and explicit than the former, because written in *France*, where a Discovery might not be so well apprehended: which as it applauds the Steps taken by the Lord *Taaffe*, in first making his Application to her Majesty, pursuant to the Orders
of

of the King; so directs him to repeat it; in case of farther Progress. That nothing was done in the *Lorrain* Negotiation, which might be wish'd undone; since it was to afford timely Relief to the sinking Condition of the Royal Party: that the People themselves, assisted by the Marquis of *Glanricarde*, and the Commissioners of Trust, had full Liberty given them by his Majesty to treat for their own Preservation, even with the Rebels themselves; to whom the Duke of *Lorrain* (let his Intentions be what they would) was infinitely preferable: I say, her Majesty's said Letter, together with her Directions or Commands, being imparted to the other Commissioners by the Lord *Taaffe* upon his Return, and the other two Letters concurring therewith, and fortifying the same; they could not in the least doubt of the Sufficiency of their Power; and therefore, in Conjunction with him, chearfully proceeded in the Treaty, and soon brought it to Perfection.

Among the Articles, the 12th is very remarkable; wherein that warlike Prince, after well weighing the Difficulties of the Undertaking, delivers himself thus: *Besides the twenty thousand Pounds English, already laid out for the Use of the Kingdom, his Highness will give such Sums of Money, and such Plenty*
of

of Arms, Shipping, Ammunition, and warlike Provision and Victualling, as shall not be above his Ability, nor beneath the Necessity of continuing the War, and recovering the Kingdom, &c.

'Tis pity the World was prevented of seeing the Execution of so great a Design, which at the worst (if encouraged) must have afforded much Discourse and Speculation to the rest of *Europe*. But such was the Misfortune, or Destiny of the Confederates, from the Beginning, that all the Opportunities that offer'd, either at home or abroad, to promote their Interest, were intirely balk'd and disappointed.

Two main Obstacles, one succeeding the other, obstructed the said Treaty: first the Opposition given to it by the Lord Deputy, on pretence of Treachery, and want of Authority in the Agents: and the Ruin afterwards attending his Majesty's Affairs in *Great Britain*, by the Overthrow at *Worcester*; the spriteful Posture of which Affairs before, had (it seems) out of a sort of State-policy, occasion'd the Encouragement given the *Lorrain* Treaty, and no Regard to the Wellfare or Preservation of the Confederates; who hereupon were left, or abandon'd to the Revenge and Cruelty of the Parliament Forces. Upon

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Conclu-

Conclusion of the Treaty aforesaid (because it was to be a Secret to the Court and Ministry in *France*) the Parties immediately intimated the same to the *Irish* State; the Commissioners by Dispatches, and an authentick Copy of the Treaty; the Duke of *Lorraine* by Letters, and a Supply of warlike Stores, as an Earnest of the vast Supplies he now took upon him to send, for the necessary Occasions of the Kingdom. Colonel *Synot* was charg'd with the Message, and delivering the said Stores; who being come to Anchor at *Inishofin*, a small Isle on the Coast of *County Mayo*, in the beginning of *October*, wrote to the Lord Deputy of his safe Arrival, and of the Dispatches he had for his Excellency. These consisted in a Letter from the Duke of *Lorraine*, directed to the Lord Deputy; another from the two Agents, *Plunket* and *Browne*, deducing the Matter at large, and shewing the Reasons, why they had somewhat varied from his Instructions (for he did at first seem to restrain them to negotiate for Aid only, but afterwards referr'd 'em to the King's Ministers, to her Majesty, the Duke of *York*, and Lord Lieutenant; if they should think fit to authorize more) in Confirmation whereof, and fully to satisfy him upon the whole, they sent her Majesty's Letter, directed

rected to them, those of the King, and Lord Lieutenant to the Lord *Taafe*, all upon the Subject of the Treaty, as aforesaid; which being perus'd, and duly consider'd of by his Excellency, were so far from giving him Satisfaction, that they set him quite against the Agents, and the Treaty it self concluded; which now (as it appears) he did resolve, as much as in him lay, to vacate and render ineffectual; as to the main Part of it at least, *viz.* the Protectorship and Command of the Forces, which he would by no means should be dispos'd of to a Stranger. To this purpose he declares himself, in his Answer of the 20th of *October*, to the Duke of *Lorrain*; wherein, after re-capitulating the Heads of his Highness's Letter to him, he disowns the Validity of the Treaty, &c. and proposes to treat a-new with him, concerning Supplies only. That if the last Galliot, his Highness sent over, had brought twenty thousand Pounds in Specie, it wou'd have enabled him to face the Enemy, and preserve *Lymerick*, which after a long Siege, was then like to be lost: the recovering of which wou'd prove a very difficult Task to his Highness, &c. Also, in his Answer of the same date to the Agents, *Plunket* and *Brotonne*, after expostulating with them concerning this Treaty, he declares it

does appear to him, that they have violated the Trust reposed in them, in the Behalf of his Majesty. Then follows a Copy of another Letter of his, having the same Date and Direction with the former, but of greater Length and Spirit; which seems to have been conceiv'd upon fresh Instructions had out of *France*, before the other was sent away; for it appears by a Marginal Note, that the first of the said Letters remain'd long in his Hands, for want of Conveniency of sending it. In the second, he speaks of some certain Advice he lately had, that the Treaty was not known at *Paris* in the beginning of *September* last, tho' my Lord *Taafe* was there at that time. And the first Resolution then taken in *France* also to discountenance it, might have been occasion'd by the woful Turn of the King's Affairs in *England*, and his Defeat at *Worcester* afore said, which must have reach'd to *Paris*, before the date of that Advice, sent to *Ireland*; this being long after the 20th of *October*, when the first Letter was written. The same Conjecture is fortified the more, upon view of both these Letters. The first is wary, mild, and only suspecting a Breach of Trust in the Agents; but the second fiery, violent, and taking the Breach for granted; for which he threatens

to issue Proclamations against them, as Traitors or high Delinquents against the King and Government. It appears also, that the Lord Deputy's Letter to the Marquis of *Ormond*, of the 22d of *October*, and his Letter to the Queen of the same date, preceded the next foregoing Letter of the Lord Deputy, to the Agents, in point of Time; and probably even that sent by him to the Duke of *Lorraine*, next before-mentioned: because, in the former, he says not much upon the Subject of the Treaty, but that if by disagreeing to the same, he fell into an Error, he desires to be corrected, and set right: which Doubt he could not have entertain'd at the time he wrote the second Letter to the Agents, viz. upon receiving the Express or Advice above-mentioned. Another Letter, bearing Date the 10th of the same Month, from the Lord Deputy to the Lord Viscount *Muskerry*, and consequently precedent to the other Letters upon the same Subject now treated of, is much milder than the last, and has the same Softness, as may be seen in his first Answer to the Agents; which still adds to the weight of my Conjecture. Herein, he declares his Resolution, to summon a General Assembly at *Jamestown*, for the first of *November*, (being the next Month following) to know their

Sense on the Conclusion of the Treaty: tho' this was needless, since they had fully given it in the Beginning. And here also is an *item* of a secret Treaty or Agreement, manag'd by the said *Geffrey Browne* at the Court of *Lorraine*, apart from the other Commissioners. The Passage it self is this: *for at that time I am resolved to open the whole Business to the Assembly, and to know whether they are for the joint Treachery of all the Lorraine Commissioners, on the particular (Treachery) of Geffrey Browne, or whether they will joyn with me for the Support and Continuance of the King's Authority, &c.* The Blank there seems to have been left for the Name of another Person: and perhaps the particular Treachery, insinuated, is meant of the Commission heretofore mention'd, to have been privately sent into *Flanders*, by the Bishop of *Fernes*, to which the said *Browne* might have been suspected of Connivance.

Of the same Nature is the Lord Deputy's Letter to the Bishop of *Dromore*, dated the 8th; wherein, after expressing himself bitterly concerning the *Lorraine* Treaty, he desires his Lordship to be very circumspect, as to his Resentment, least it shou'd divert the Supplies that were then ready to be sent over by the Duke of *Lorraine*: As likewise his

Letter

Letter of the 16th of the same Month to the said Prelate, with the Bishop of *Fernes's* Letter to the *Irish* Agents at *Brussels*, inclosed therein; which it seems, (because highly respecting upon his Excellency) the said Agents, tho' now out of Favour, thought fit to send to him, together with their Dispatches of the Conclusion of the Treaty: And so is his Letter of the same Date, to the Lord Archbishop of *Tuam*. But that of the Bishop of *Fernes* is remarkable in several Respects; and especially for that it seems to have been a Precedent to the Reptroaches the Earl of *Clarendon* takes Notice of; as made by the Malecontents upon the Lord Deputy, in return of his Cares, and wholesome Administration. The said Prelate, after beseeching the Agents to obtain the Pope's Absolution, or an Exemption from the Excommunication formerly pronounc'd by his Nuncio in *Ireland*; that they would be discrete as to the just Character of the Lord Deputy; which (he said) if known to his Highness of *Lorrain*, it would disgust him so, as to have nothing to do with them, or any that made use of his Name. The reason of this Reflection perhaps was, that the Lord Deputy adhering to the Marquis of *Ormond* all along, never came into the Measures of the Confederates, till the

Cessation made with the Lord *Inchiquin* and his Party in 1648, which occasion'd the said Excommunication to be issued against the Promoters of it: and the intestine Discord of the said Confederates, thereupon splitting them into two Parties, one favouring the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*, now joyned by the Earl of *St. Albans*; and the other siding with the said Nuncio, and most of the Clergy; not but that these different Parties were distinguish'd before, tho' not so openly acting, and unmask'd, as at present.

His Excellency the Lord Deputy about the same time being informed, that the Mayor and Corporation of *Gallway*, having been presented with a Letter from the Duke of *Lorraine*, by Colonel *Synot*; they made a most pathetick and grateful Answer to it on the 15th of the same *October*, therein stiling him *Royal Protector of Ireland*. But first he thought fit only to sift them by Letter, whether they were not Parties, or privy to any secret Commission to agree with the Duke of *Lorraine*: to which they answer'd in the Negative; but that they were extremely satisfied with the Treaty, concluded between that Prince and the Nation in general. Which Insolence, by his Letter of the 26th, directed to the same, he returns with a Witness;

ness; therein charging them with a Forfeiture of no less than their Charter, Loyalty, and Estates, for giving to the Duke of *Lorrain* the Title aforesaid. So that it appears, by the Difference of those two Letters also, that the Lord Deputy, howsoever dissatisfied with the *Lorrain* Treaty from the Beginning, did not express his Resentments so lively as after the 20th of *October*; about which time he had the forementioned Express or Advice from *France*.

There's no Account here, whether the Assembly, intended for the 6th of *November*, met accordingly, or ever gave their Opinion and Sense of the Treaty; which is not very Material; since 'tis obvious, that if consulted thereupon, they would not have departed from a Resolution, wherein they had agreed, and been unanimous to a Man. Nor could it otherwise have happened in so dismal a Conjunction, when *Lymerick* it self, their chiefest Bulwark, was almost lost, and the rest expos'd to the immediate Attacks of a powerful Enemy, which of themselves they could not withstand. This miserable Condition, his Majesty's Letter to the Duke of *Lorrain*, dated the 6th of *February* following, discovers, in the ensuing Passage—*It is very true, the Miseries and Calamities, which*
have

have almost overwhelmed that Kingdom, can hardly be express'd; which, in a short time, (if some seasonable and very timely Supply, and Assistance be not applyed, to stop the Success of our English Rebels there,) must probably be concluded in the utter Extirpation of that Nation, and the total rooting out of the Catholick Religion within that Kingdom: And other Passages of the same Letter implying, that without immediate Succours, the Royal Party must have been intirely swallowed up by their and his Enemies. And yet the Drift of this (as it seems) was not to forward the Supplies already stipulated for in the Treaty, by ratifying the same; but only to excite the Piety and Compassion of that Prince, towards those of his Religion in *Ireland*: As if to preserve them alone, (without any regard to the said Treaty) he might be prevail'd upon, to send thither the Supplies therein provided for; which, one would have thought, were enough to have made him drop the whole Design at the very Instant, as he soon after did. Another Letter of his Majesty to the Lord Deputy, of the 10th of *Feb.* (just four Days after the date of the last) shews it further; for after applauding his Lordship for the Opposition given to the *Lorrain* Treaty, he leaves him at full Liberty to withdraw him-

himself from that Country, as out of a sinking Ship or Vessel; and this in Answer to the Request of the Lord Deputy himself, in his Letter to the Marquis of *Ormond* of the 22d of *October*, recited before: wherein observing, that upon frustrating the *Lorrain* Treaty, he could not propose to hold out longer than to the beginning of the Year; he desir'd leave to withdraw himself against that time. The Marquis of *Ormond* also, by his Letter to the Lord Deputy of the 27th of *March* next following, repeats the same Permission given by his Majesty, for the Lord Deputy's departing from his Province, because it was likely to fall into the Hands of the King's avowed Enemies; whose Interest, it seems, is now preferr'd to the Safety of that miserable People, who ever since the Conclusion of the Peace in 1648, at least, laid down their Estates, Fortunes and Lives, to support his Cause.

This Letter of the Marquis of *Ormond* deserves particular Notice, because thereby, in order to corroborate the Resolution then taken, he endeavours to account for the Passages of his other Letter to the Lord Viscount *Taafe*, so as not to make it liable to the Construction it naturally bears, from which he wou'd now wrest it. For as it encourag'd

courag'd the Treaty with the Duke of *Lorraine* in its full Extent, it was made use of by the Commissioners at *Brussels* in Justification thereof; and for that end was produc'd to them before the said Lord *Taaffe*.

I. The first Argument for clearing this Point is: *That the said Letter being by several Months prior to the Conclusion of the Treaty, it could not be made Use of, to confirm or approve the same.* Concerning which I beg leave to say, that a great deal may be offer'd in Opposition to this sort of Reasoning; for a Confirmation of an Act of this kind, may precede in order of Time, as commonly it does; the Ratification being only an Acknowledgment; that the Instructions given have been fairly pursued; and this is done, when Princes and States do not reserve the finishing Stroke to themselves. *Quintus Fabius*, at the Head of the *Roman* Ambassadors, about the Beginning of the second *Punick* War, in the Audience given by the Senate of *Carthage*, making a Fold in his Gown, told them, the said Senate, he had War and Peace therein; that they might instantly chuse, which they would have of the two. And *Popilius*, another *Roman* Ambassador, having drawn a Circle in the Sand about *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*, bad him resolve upon War or Peace,

Peace, before he got out of the same. I say, these Acts, being determinable in a few Minutes, did not wait for any Confirmation to follow, but intirely depended upon the Authority first receiv'd by the said Ambassadors. But here it has no room, being only brought as a Circumstance, to shew the favourable Disposition of the Ministry towards the Success of the intended Treaty, as was also the Letter of his Highness the Duke of York; the Royal Authority being (as the Marquis of Ormond observes in the same Letter) vested in her Majesty, who alone, during the King's Absence, could authorize or confirm the said Treaty.

II. The second Argument is: *That the Lord Deputy's Name, who had qualified, and sent the Agents, was over-look'd, or left out in the Treaty.* To which may be answer'd, 'Twas right enough; for the very Instructions refer the Agents to such as shou'd be authoriz'd by the King, to have special Directions and Orders from them, in case the Treaty proceeded upon more than a bare Supply; and this they punctually did. Then there being the Concurrence of all that was necessary to establish any Act, viz. the King, Lords, and Commons, vested with the whole Legislature; the Lords and Commons, conven'd by

by Authority, in their unanimous Resolution, presented to the Queen by the Lord *Taafe*, and her Majesty's Acquiescence in, and Assent thereto, having the King's Authority for the same; there was no Reason for including the Lord Deputy's Name, especially where the Sovereign himself appear'd by his Representative, and consequently suspended the Lord Deputy from intermeddling; whose Commission did not, probably, extend to any act of so high a Nature. Nor did the Commissioners, in this Affair, proceed under his Authority, but by that deriv'd from his Superiors; so that they had not the least plausible Colour to mention him, he being but a private Person, in respect of the Treaty; and therefore to be intirely omitted therein: tho' otherwise sufficiently comprehended in the Title, or Name of the People, whereof he was a considerable Member.

III. The two other Arguments that follow, viz. *That his Lordship neither sent the said Letter to the Lord Taafe, by way of Instructions, to guide or warrant Authority to a Contract of that high Nature; and that he wrote it as a private Person, and not a publick, or one vested with Authority;* have been answer'd above: for whatever Authority he then had, if any at all, he could neither give
Instructions,

Instructions, nor act as a publick Person, in an Affair wherein her Majesty so much concern'd her self, who had all the Authority at that time, and afterwards, till the King's Return; which the Marquis of *Ormond* himself fairly acknowledges in that Letter, as is said before. 'Tis true, there was no Commission made out to the Agents, under the Great, or Privy-Seal; but they could not help that: and it was not their Business to expostulate with her Majesty thereupon, but to follow the Orders given by her to the Lord *Taafe*, to be communicated to them in her Name. And if her Majesty's Letter had not been thought sufficient, by the said noble Lords, to that Purpose; perhaps the same Argument wou'd have turn'd upon themselves. For, as to the first, the Lord Marquis of *Ormond* (if upon giving up *Dublin*, by the King's Orders in 1646, as then insisted on, and all the other Parts of the Kingdom that obeyed him, together with the Ensigns of Authority, to the Parliament) he still retain'd the Office or Charge of Lord Lieutenant thereof, (which has not been yet clear'd) surely it entirely ceas'd with the last Breath of his said Majesty in *January* 1649, till reviv'd by King *Charles* the Second's bare Acknowledgment, by his Letter of *March* following; as you
may

Lib. 2. p. 2. may see in Mr. *Cox's* History. The ingenious Author of these Memoirs, also owns the like Favour done him by his said Majesty, and that by Message only, or Letter, brought by Dean *King* from *Scotland*, spoken of here page 165; both which being strong Precedents, I can't see, why an Authority by Letter should not be thought to have pass'd as well in this Case; and if so, the Agents demeaned themselves as they ought to have done, with Respect to the Lord Deputy in this Matter aforesaid, so much complain'd of. Concerning his Majesty's Affirmation about the Treaty, which takes up the first Part of his said Letter of the 6th of *February*, to the Duke of *Lorrain*, that neither himself, the Queen, the Duke of *York*, or Lord Lieutenant, knew any thing of it, till they had by Dispatches from the Lord Deputy of *Ireland* Intelligence thereof, I shall not be so bold as to contradict it; yet think the Answer return'd by the Duke of *Lorrain* is very smart, and nearly comes up to the Matter. In the first Place, he touches upon the clear Testimonies given of his real Affection to his Majesty, in this very Undertaking: then complains of his Majesty's Enemies, who misrepresented his good Intentions to him, with which he seem'd before to be very well satisfied, as appear'd

pear'd by several Letters from his Majesty to him, since he enter'd upon this Design. These are the Duke's Words translated here, Page 225. *Tho' the Sincerity wherewith I have endeavour'd to serve your Majesty, hath sufficiently appeared in the small Effects, the Condition of the Time permitted me to render unto you; it is so, that understanding how your Enemies, (whose hatred by this means I have acquired) have laboured to render my Intentions suspected unto you: Also having propounded unto my self for an end to this Enterprize, the Glory to conduct it unto an entire Re-establishment of your Majesty in your Estates, I never doubted that you should have conceived thereof any other Opinion, than that you have testified unto me since by your Letters, &c.* Whence the said Letters came, and of what date, wou'd be very material to set this Matter right, as the Purport, or Tenor it self, if it could be had. But in all likelihood, they preceded the Defeat at *Worcester*, and the King's Arrival in *France*, when his Ministers or Council there entirely chang'd Notes, as is manifest by all the Dispatches sent from thence afterwards concerning the said Affair.

Nor will it be impertinent to weigh that cutting Expression of his Highness of *Lorraine*, darted at the King's Enemies, who had

misrepresented his upright Intentions in the said Design to his Majesty: Who were those he meant by it? They could not be the Parliament of *England*, or Rump Juncto, with which his Majesty had no manner of Communication: Nor the Presbytery, or *Scotch* Government neither, from whom he kept himself very much reserv'd, as to any Favour intended by him to the *Roman* Catholicks of *Ireland*, as is clear by his Letter to the Lord *Taafe*. Nor could they be of the King's Household, or those Persons of Honour that accompanied him in the *Scotch* Expedition. For as they knew his Sentiments, which were entirely for the *Lorrain* Treaty, as appears by his said Letter to the Lord *Taafe*, they durst not have suggested the least thing against it. Nor can it be fairly imagin'd of Persons of their Loyalty, that they would have harbour'd Malice against a Party, which so cheerfully maintain'd his Majesty's Rights against his open Enemies in *Ireland*, and render'd him considerable abroad. This Disposition, as it remain'd to the Defeat at *Worcester*, could have no immediate Alteration thereupon, when no other Measures or Consultation could have been enter'd into for some time, but how to evade the eager Pursuit of the victorious Rebels. It follows then, they

they were those, that had Access to his Majesty's Person upon his Arrival in *France*, and were admitted to his Deliberations of State; for, who else might pretend to a Right of advising him, or durst have assum'd that Liberty, unless it were Cardinal *Mazarin*, together with the Regent Queen, and these could not be them, for several Reasons. Nor can it be imagin'd of his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, or the Queen, who were so very hearty for the Treaty from the Beginning. Well then, shall those be call'd Enemies to the King, whom he himself had called to so vast a Trust, and selected out of so many, for their Loyalty and great Capacities, to be of his Privy Council? It is even so, let the incongruity be never so great; and it was not the first time, pernicious Ministers have been discover'd, if they may be so call'd. It might be, his Highness of *Lorraine* consider'd them as Enemies to the King, that advis'd him to depart from a Treaty, that had a legal Sanction, (as he conceiv'd this had) which no Necessity whatsoever could dispence with, or to abandon a Part of his Subjects then in actual Allegiance to him, and those Enemies of the very worst Sort, because acting under the Cloak of Friendship, he could not be so well guarded against their Designs. Besides, he might

have been well informed, that the Promoters of that Advice, probably then had particular Views of their own, of no great Import, or Consequence to the publik Good, which they seem'd solely to regard; in respect whereof they might also be deem'd Enemies to their Sovereign, as certainly all such are, who pursue their private Interest at the Cost or Detriment of any of their Fellow Subjects, a Corruption not entirely owing to our own wretched Time, tho' much improv'd in it.

Lib. 22.

Private res offecere semper, officientque publicis consiliis, says the discerning *Livy*; therein agreeing with an equal Historian, if not a Superior, who gives us this important Truth,

Sallust. in Cat. avaritia omnia venalia habere docet, fidem & probitatem evertit.

As his Majesty was a Prince of excellent Parts, he himself apprehended some Obloquy, on this very score, as appears by a Passage in his said Letter to the Duke of *Lorrain*, which seems worded in order to anticipate an Answer to any such Surmise or Reflection. The said Passage, after a succinct Account of the Calamities of the *Irish*, runs thus.—*As all those Sufferings and Afflictions of those our Subjects, whatsoever they are, or may grow to be, cannot in the least be imputed to any Fault or Failing (of) our blessed Father, or our self; so we*
have

*have left no means within our Power unat-
tempted, to remedy the same, and are still most
ready to use our utmost Endeavours to procure
any Relief to them: But we must confess, that
in this sad Conjunction of our Affairs, which is
enough known to the World, that Work seems
almost desperate.*

Such Ministers deserve great Praise, who
standing at the Elbow of a Sovereign, in
Consultations that relate to the State, put
him in mind of the Obligation of his Duty;
as it has an immediate Relation to the Wel-
fare and Happiness of the People, with
which he ought to square the most material
Actions of his Life. For as there are strong
Bonds and Ties between both, they beget
Sollicitude for Safety in the one, and perfect
Obedience in the other; out of which arises
that Harmony and mutual Confidence, which
make Kingdoms happy. On the contrary,
where it is wanting, a wide Passage is left to
Distrusts, Confusions, and a flood of other de-
structive Evils to break in. But of the two, far
greater Difficulties lie on the Prince's Side;
because he has all in his Cares, as well the
Body of the People, as every particular Sub-
ject, to whom Justice, and the princely Fun-
ctions ought to extend; whereas each Man
in his own private Station is answerable for

himself alone. Whence that moral Saying is frequent with good Princes, viz. that they find the Weight of their Crowns bear heavy upon them, and that they are set round with sharp Thorns. In effect, the Seat of Majesty, notwithstanding the Lustre and Glories surrounding it, has more of Trouble, than real Enjoyment; as the great and wise Socrates most pertinently observes in this Sentence. *A King is set up, not that he should mind himself only, to lead a soft and luxurious Life, but that the Subjects should by his means live well and happy.* With whom Cicero in his Work upon the Commonwealth agrees, laying it down for a main Principle of Government; *that the Ruler of the State ought to propose as his chief End, the Happiness of the People.* Wherein also the Philosopher distinguishes Kingly Cares, from those of a Tyrant. *And Tyrant, says he, considers, and seeks his own only Profit; but a King that of his Subjects.* Likewise Homer, as commonly in all things is both Accurate and Just, to epitomize or contract, in the Character of his *Agamemnon*, all that's most excellent and bright in the Royal Functions, calls him *Pastor Populorum*, Shepherd (that is, careful Preserver) of the People. Whence *Claudian* in his Panegyrick on the Emperor *Honorius*, elegantly, and

with

*Xenoph. in
Memorab. So-
crat. l. 3.*

Lib. 5.

*Arist. l. 8.
polir. c. 10.*

*Iliad. 2. v.
324.*

with all Submission, offers his Advice to him
in this Manner,

*Tu civem, patremq; geras: Tu consule cunctis,
Non tibi: nectua te moveant, sed publica damna.*

which may be *English'd*,

*Art thou the Native, and the Father too;
The Good of all, and not thy own, pursue:
Let private Crosses ne'er disturb thy Rest;
For publick Cares become a Monarch's Breast.*

I may instance many more of the ancient Sages, and almost all, that ever wrote upon the Subject (who as they well copied Nature, must be allowed to have had just and clear Notions of things) to shew that the principal End of Government, is the Preservation and Happiness of the People, for the one implies the other; and that being so, 'tis a Consequence, the Prince or Ruler is indispensably bound to direct his chiefest Thoughts and Actions thereunto, unless he would abdicate, or give over the Government at once; as any one, by the Law of Nations, may forego a Chattel, or whatever else is in his own Disposal, tho' it be a more absolute Property than the Former. And therefore whatever Minister or Favourite would go about, or endeavour to persuade the Prince, from the

Observance of a Duty so very incumbent upon him, and so much his Interest, may be justly consider'd as his Enemy, and that Nation's also: which perhaps was the Sense of the Duke of *Lorrain*, when in his said Letter to King *Charles*, he call'd those Enemies to his Majesty, who by mis-representing the good Intentions of his Friends, took him off from preserving his Subjects, and from the means of effecting it.

I have often heard, that it has perplex'd many ingenious Men, to dive into this Politick, and to find out the true Reason of so uncommon a Resolution; for the Arguments here advanced for it, seem too trivial to deserve Belief, and therefore are not to be allowed of.

- I. What? *The Apprehension of Disadvantage to the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, not a good Motive?* No: for the Treaty expressly providing as well for the Safety, as the Estates, Rights, and Liberties of the King's faithful Subjects, without any Exception, comprehends all Protestants in actual Obedience to his Majesty; whereof many still remain'd in his Quarters, and especially in the Cities of *Lymerick* and *Galloway*. The Constitution also, and Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom are secur'd, which were the Basis,
and

and Bulwark of the Protestant Interest. Nor are Protestants render'd incapable of serving in any Post among the Confederates, save only to act as Deputy to the Duke of *Lorraine* in his Absence. Then the whole Body of the Protestants in the Nation, except as aforesaid, declar'd for the *English* Parliament, and abjur'd Monarchy, and their Duty to the Royal Family; so that they deserv'd not to be consider'd by the King, as long as they continued in that Obstinacy: But if in the ensuing War, which was to be carried on with Vigour by his Highness of *Lorraine*, any of that Side repented, and came in to the Royal Party, there being no Obstruction by the Treaty, he might justly expect to be restor'd to the Rights and Liberties of a Subject; a Favour or Benefit, never yet refus'd, even to Infidels making their Submission.

But the Treaty absolutely alien'd, and made II.
 over to a Foreigner the Rights of the Crown, and the Allegiance of the People. Not at all; for they are preserv'd, and secur'd to his Majesty upon the same Footing, as far as Words and Terms could make 'em; as appears by the Treaty it self: and his Highness of *Lorraine* so expresses himself in the Letter aforesaid.

Then

III. Then moreover, *The Title of Protector, in a Sovereign's Territory, to be given to a Stranger, is altogether new, and without any Precedent, unless set up in popular Commotions.* The Case and Circumstances of the Confederates was also new; they being exhausted, and the Prince in no Condition to protect them himself. And it was not new to apply extraordinary Remedies, to extraordinary Mischiefs: 'tis likewise a *gratis dictum*, that no Precedent may be shewed. Nay we see daily, in a manner, Countries made over for Money borrowed, or Damages sustain'd, till Satisfaction be made; where the Royal Jurisdiction, and immediate Dependance on the true Sovereign ceases for a time; which is stronger than the present Case. We see Countries irredeemably given away, and alien'd for ever; which exceeds that again. And it is Mathematically conclusive, that *omne majus continet in se minus*. I could descend to an infinity of Examples, in a manner, if it were requisite in a thing, that's self-evident, and as clear as the Sun.

IV. *It were much better, that the Kingdom should fall under the present Tyranny of the Rebels, without any Fault or Omission on his Majesty's Part; than that by his own Consent, with such Circumstances of Indignity, Impiety, and Injustice,*

justice, be soon'd resign it into the Hands of another Prince. This being the same specious Argument that prevailed at the Council-board, and else where at *Dublin*, to deliver up the said City, with all the Garrisons and Parts depending upon it, to the King's open Enemies, the Parliament Forces, in the Year 1646, concerning which, see Mr. *Coxe's* History in these Words. (*Lastly, it was known Lib. 1. p. 187. how many Agents the Irish had employ'd abroad, and what publick Ministers had Reception with them, as from the Pope, the Kings of France, and Spain: That if the Garrisons now held were put into the Hands of the Houses of Parliament, they would revert by Treaty, or otherwise, when ever his Majesty should in England recover his Right.*) It may be well presum'd, it was renewed by some of the same Persons on this Occasion, and especially the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was of the Privy-Council, which you would not a little admire, after the Protestant Forces of *Munster*, in the Year 49, had pleasantly turn'd it upon him; under colour thereof, going over, or revolting to the Parliament Side, which may be seen in the said Mr. *Cox* also. Finally, they remembered Lib. 2. p. 12. the Reasons of submitting *Dublin* to the Parliament two Years before; and they thought they had the same Motive to submit now: and therefore

fore by the means of the Lord Broghill, Col. Courtney, Sir Percy Smith, and the Colonels Townsend, Jefford and Warden, they revolted all at once, and about 2500 Men were drawn out of those Garrisons, and they met Cromwell at White-Church, not far from Dungarvan. I shall pass by the Inconsistency of the Ideas or Notions, laid in the first Proposition of that Argument upon the case of the Treaty, viz. that the Kingdom might be left to fall under the Tyranny of the Parliament, and his Majesty's Connivance at such a Misfortune, (tho' he might prevent it) to be justifiable at the same time. A Doctrine more becoming *Turks* and *Barbarians*, than professed Christians, or even moral Heathens; and will only observe, that the Foundation or Supposition, upon which the Argument it self was rais'd; *that the King should by Treaty or otherwise be restored to his Right in England*, was an Event more to be wish'd for, than rationally expected; and they must have been Men of vast Penetration and Foresight, that could look so far: and yet the Disposition or Motive, which (under God) chiefly contributed to that happy Change, was not then known, viz. the Ambition, and aspiring Temper of the Usurper, to make himself King; for which he quite broke through
the

the Frame of the Commonwealth newly put together, and dash'd it all to Pieces.

There must be something else yet in the bottom of this Affair, (whatever it be) that has occasion'd so extraordinary a Resolution, as the giving over the only Party, that visibly then stood for the King in the three Kingdoms. And it is a Matter of good Speculation, that neither the Marquis of *Ormond*, tho' born of Roman-catholick Parents, and educated in that Religion, till he pass'd the Years of Discretion; or the Marquis of *Clanricarde*, so also by open Profession, could ever be prevail'd upon to condescend, that any Part of the Glebe or Church Lands in that Country, should be restor'd to the *Roman* Catholick Clergy; which thing alone occasion'd the rejecting of the Peace of 1646, such as it was. And yet that the noble Lord the Earl of *Glamorgan*, as hearty for the *English* Interest as the former, and never suspected of Disloyalty, nor any of his Family, should think it reasonable to consent thereto; and even after the Rejection aforesaid, to head the Troops of the Confederates, as Generalissimo of their Army against the Parliament Forces, which he did for some time, till he was undermin'd therein, by a Party among the Confederates, that oppos'd
the

the said Clergy and their Adherents, in Favour of the Marquis of *Ormond*. The Marquis of *Glanricarde* also having a perfect Understanding with his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and the Council at *Dublin*, from the very Beginning, never united with the Confederate Catholics, till the Beginning of the Year 1648, when (upon a Breach happening between the Supreme Council, and the Pope's Nuncio there, mostly supported by the Clergy) he heartily joyn'd with the former, and prosecuted the Nuncio and his Party with Fire and Sword.

Now I am not afraid to take Notice of, what several have observ'd on this very Head before; *viz.* that as Interest for the most part governs the World; the vast Possessions each of the said great Lords had cut out of Abbeys, Lands, and other Ecclesiastical Livings, if not one of the greatest Motives prevailing with them, serv'd however as a strong Inducement, to oppose the Designs of the *Romish* Clergy; the restoring of whom to any Part, must have prov'd of dangerous Consequence to them, and the Revenues they enjoyed, or lately had in their yearly Rent Rolls. And that this is not a bare Surmise, without any Grounds, whoever will give himself the Trouble of examining into the Forfeitures,

seizures, Confiscations, or Seisures of Church-Lands: in that Country by King *Henry* the VIIIth, and the extravagant Grants made of the greatest Part thereof, to some of the Quality of the said Kingdom, that favour'd the Innovation, or Form then introduc'd, will readily own the Truth of this Assertion. Even *Mr. Cox* himself has pick'd up some few Instances of it, whereof I give two here, relating to the illustrious Families of the said noble Lords, the Marquises of *Ormond*, and *Clanricarde*: The first concerns the last. *As for Ulick Burk, he had likewise* Lib. 2. p. 243. *his Charges born, and was created Earl of Clanricarde, and his Estate was re-granted to him, and the Abbies and Patronages of all Benefices within his Precincts; the Coquets of Gallway were excepted in the Patent, but in lieu of them, the Earl had a Pension of thirty Pounds per Annum, and the third Part of the First-fruits, and the Abby of Via-Nova or Confert. The second Instance is this.—On* *ibidem.* *the 12th of May (1535) the Lord Butler was created Viscount Thurless, and Admiral of Ireland: and the 21st, with his Father the Earl of Ossory, was made Governor of the Counties of Killkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, and the Territories of Ossory, and Ormond: and they promised to do their utmost Endeavours to*
recover

recover the Castle of Dungarvan, and to resist the Usurpation of the Church of Rome, which is the first Engagement I have met with of that kind. The Service in the last Place mention'd, and promis'd, (as accordingly it was performed) hath been very plentifully rewarded out of the Spoils of the Church, wrested from the Provision and Dependance of the Pope, and especially in many rich and large Abbies: whereof many by Surrender, or Composition, came into the King's Hands, the Year last above-mentioned; to which none of the *Irish* Quality could make so good a Pretension as the said noble Family of *Butlers*; and this not only for its thus early declaring against the Church of *Rome*, but because it was nearly related to *Queen Anne*, the then Royal Consort, who yet was in Possession of her Husband's Heart and Affections. For this Reason, it receiv'd many other extraordinary Advantages from the Crown, as well at that time, as in the long Reign of *Queen Elizabeth* her Daughter. As to the former Grants of Church Livings of all sorts, they were without doubt very considerable in themselves, as being answerable to the craving Avarice of the Grantees, and boundless Extravagancy of the Grantor. And tho' the Names of many are now lost, there being

no *Monasticon* extant in the Country, where-
 by they may be trac'd, and most of the Re-
 cords of those Times missing; yet the rest
 may be well judg'd of by the larger Benefices
 transferr'd to them that are still known, be-
 ing in a manner equal to Lordships; as the
 vast Possessions of the Holy Cross in the
 County of *Tipperary*, and others of the same
 kind, as well therein, as in the Counties of
Waterford, *Caterlagh* and *Kilkenny*, and these
 in such Numbers, that a natural Son of the
 said House, had an entire Abbey for his own
 Share, by Grant from his Father; which
 splendidly supported him, and the Title of a
 Peer, which was afterwards brought into his
 Family: So that it is evident, that the Lord
 Marquis of *Ormond* had powerful Motives
 of his own, to oppose as well the *Romish*
 Clergy, who expected to be then restor'd to
 a Portion of the Lands formerly possess'd by
 them in that Kingdom, as the Country Party,
 that countenanc'd or abetted them therein.
 And perhaps the Distractions or Disunion of
 the Body of the Confederates themselves,
 which occasion'd their Ruin, more than the
 Strength and Power of their Enemies, may
 be owing to Chance or Fatality. Yet 'tis
 downright Fact, that the said noble Lord
 has made it a Merit of his own, as a neces-

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sary

farly Consequence of the Peace of 1646, the making whereof he would have excused to the Parliament, being then upon a Treaty with them, to give up *Dublin*, and the Government into their Hands: For which End he sent over three Commissioners to *London*, viz. the Lord Chief-Justice *Lowther*, Sir *Francis Willoughby*, and Sir *Paul Davis*; and, together with the Council, deliver'd them Instructions what to say, and argue upon that Occasion, and among the rest, these that follow.

Cox, lib. 1.
p. 136.

1. That a Difference ought to be made between those that were Controversers, and first Actors of the Rebellion; and those that by the Torrens of that Rebellion were afterwards accidentally engaged therein: And that the Considerations of the former were sufficient to satisfy the Adventurers.

2. That they demonstrate the Necessity of making the last Peace for the Preservation of the Protestants; for tho' the Protestants survive the Breach of the Peace, the reason is, because the Irish are now divided, and their Frame of Government dissolved.

Nor did the said usurping Parliament ever afterwards, by any Instance that can be shewn, look upon him with Indifferency, or exerted that Rigour and Severity against him,

which

which most of the Loyal Cavaliers felt at their Hands. They yielded by the said Treaty, which took Effect, that he might safely remain in *England* for eight Months. And now upon the blasting of the last Hopes of *King Charles* the Second, and his Overthrow at *Worcester*, when the Cruelty of the Parliament so furiously exerted it self in the Execution of the noble Earl of *Derby*, and several other Persons of Distinction, for their Service to the Sovereign; yet the said Peer (as the only happy Person of the King's Party) had Interest enough in *England*, to put in for the Marchioness's Inheritance, which comprehended the major Part of the Estate of the House of *Ormond*, descended upon her, as Heir at Law to *Thomas* Earl of *Ormond*, her Grandfather. For which End he dispatches her away from *France*; as you may observe by his own Letter, Page 227. Nor was that Journey unsuccessful; the said Lady being very well receiv'd, and supplied with a suitable Support for her self and Children, till the King's Restoration; when, in gratitude to her Benefactors, she obtain'd them several Favours from his Majesty, and the Ministry then in Being.

As to the second Treaty propos'd to the Duke of *Lorrain*, in behalf of the King, notwithstanding

withstanding the Hopefulness of it in the Beginning, as his Majesty to the Lord Deputy here observes, yet at the second Application made to him by the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *Henry de Vic*, his Highness entirely broke off, and in a few Days published a Manifesto, with the Reasons which had induced him thereunto, as an Author (who in 1668 wrote in *France* a small Book of the Civil Wars) tells us in the following Manner.

“ The Capitulation (from which we hop’d
 “ for Preservation) being blasted in this
 “ kind, his Majesty employed two Envoys
 “ to the Duke, an *English* Protestant Lord
 “ and Sir *Henry de Visque*, his Majesty’s then
 “ Resident at *Brussels*. With those the King
 “ returned the Duke Thanks, by a kind Letter,
 “ for his Care of his Interest, and desired
 “ him to treat with these new Men,
 “ who were courteously receiv’d by his Highness.
 “ But at the second Conference, he
 “ told them, he did not know what matter
 “ of Capitulation could pass between him,
 “ and their Master, who had not at that
 “ time in his own Possession, so much as one
 “ City, Wall-town, Fort or Port, in his
 “ three Kingdoms. Yet notwithstanding,
 “ if his Majesty would be pleas’d to consent
 “ to the Articles, he had perfected with the

“ afore-

“aforesaid Catholick Commissioners, he
 “would perform all on his Part. Which
 “Answer being not accepted by the King’s
 “Council, the Duke, by a handsom Mani-
 “festo soon after, discharg’d his own Ho-
 “nour from all Blame and Imputation,
 “touching the before-mentioned Capitula-
 “tion and Agreement.

The said Author saith also, that before his
 Highness of *Lorrain* met with this Disap-
 pointment, he sent four Ships with Arms
 and warlike Stores to the said Confederates;
 whereof two arriv’d safe in *Ireland*, and the
 two other fell into the Hands of the Enemy;
 which, together with the Supplies given to
 my Lord *Taafe* to reduce *Guernsey*, the
 twenty thousand Pounds disbursed to the
 Government in the said Kingdom, and the
 Charges of his Ambassador, must in the whole
 have amounted to a vast Sum, and is a lasting
 Monument of the Munificence and Genero-
 sity of that Prince.

This is what I thought proper to write
 upon these Memoirs, by way of Illustration,
 and to open some of the State-Intrigues of
 those Times, either not well discerned, or wit-
 tingly omitted, by such as have treated of
 the Affairs of the said Kingdom, in the
 Course of that War. And it may be assuredly

said, that the Accounts given, not only of the *Irish* Transactions then, but before and after, are very imperfect, and deserve to be corrected and supply'd; especially now, when fresh Endeavours are on foot to impose upon the World in a grosser manner, by an *English* Version of Doctor *Keating's* pretended History, which is getting ready for the Press. Concerning which, I shall, for the sake of Truth, and in Vindication of the real Antiquities of that Nation, (without any other View or Design whatsoever) venture to say that it will not at all answer the Character, given it in late Advertisements; as being, for the most part, an heap of insipid, ill-digested Fables, and the rest but very indifferently handled. The Owner of the Copy (for the Original belongs to the Lord Baron of *Cahir* in *Ireland*) assumes the Name of an *Irish* Antiquary, which (for ought I know) he may make some Claim or Title to; tho' I verily believ'd there was none of that sort remaining in the Country. The Study of the present Generation reaching no farther than to comprehend and write the common Dialect of their Language; and not one in six thousand that can pretend even to that, which doubtless has occasioned this unpardonable Presumption. Nor could it have been well
other-

otherwise, where not so much as one Country School of that kind, hath been frequented since the Beginning of the Wars of 1641; the Gentlemen, and Quality, for the most part, that countenanc'd and supported that sort of Learning, having been thrust out of their Estates, tho' under the Peace of 48, and the general Indemnity, or Pardon, sent from *Breda*, a little before the Restoration. But if reading and writing alone be sufficient to make an Antiquary, modestly speaking, there are three Parts of four, of the People in *Great Britain*, Antiquaries too; and so in the same Proportion in other Kingdoms.

The first Part of this Work consists of idle Stories, first vented by Druids or Bards, soon after the Propagation of the Gospel in *Ireland*, when a Notion of the Flood, and the Ancient World, first came to be establish'd there: And these were then receiv'd or suffer'd by way of Romance, for Pastime and Diversion only, which some in the late Degeneracy of the Times (when the *Irish* Literature became almost extinct) finding written, took them for Genuin and good History. Whence it is, that we are told of a Colony settled in *Ireland*, so many Days or Months before the Flood, and that all the Inhabitants thereof, were not lost in the Flood it

self: of many Settlements very early after the Flood, with particular Circumstances to each; and so down to the Arrival of the *Milesians*, or old *Spaniards*, which alone of all they have hitherto deliver'd, seems to be justifiable: Yet not upon their Authority, (which is none at all) but because it may be otherwise sufficiently accounted for.

The Levity of the former Relations, is also clear'd by the Conveyance, which is as odd, as the things themselves there treated of. For there was no Tradition or Writing in the Case, but some of the Druids, that had seen all the Changes and Alterations, which happened in the said Isle from the Beginning, liv'd (as it seems) to the time aforesaid; not in the same Shapes or Forms, as Men do now-a-days, but under several, succeeding each other; as that of a Hind, that of a Wolf, that of a Roe, Kite, Eagle, Salmon, and other Creatures in their Turns. *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who accompanied the Earl of *Morton* (afterwards King *John*) into *Ireland*, and there pick'd up all that fell in his Way, in order to write a History of the Country; assures us, that one *Ruanus* (which he, or his Copist mistook, for *Tuan*, or *Fion-tuan*, for so also it is sometimes written) having liv'd from near the Flood to *St. Patrick's* time,

time, (that is to the middle of the 5th Century) acquainted him with all that had pass'd in the said Kingdom before; which shews what sort of Antiquaries *Cambrensis* convers'd with there. To make amends for the Extravagancy of this Account, taken, as *Cambrensis* pretends, out of the most ancient Histories of the Country, he adds this for a Salvo or Excuse: *Sed qui historias primo scripserint, ipsi viderint, historiarum enim vero enucleator venio, non impugnator: Let them that have broach'd those things, answer for the Reality of 'em; for I don't take upon me to criticize, but to illustrate Matters; which alone may demonstrate, that his full Design was to ridicule the said Histories under the Colour of those Fables, that are no Part of 'em.* Doctor Keating likewise, either ignorantly or designedly, fell into the same gross Error; and after him, little *Peter Walsh*, who tho' he owns it was not well done of the Doctor, to have minded such silly Tales; yet for fear they should be lost, minutely sets 'em forth himself in their bright Colours. So that Bishop *Stillingfleet* in his *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 166; &c. having no other Handle to make Sport with the *Irish* Antiquities, than the said Fables, publish'd by the above-mentioned *Walsh*, had more expos'd himself, than by any

any thing else, if the grounds of his Reflections were known.

The pretended Transmutation of the *Irish* Druids and Bards as is aforesaid, was agreeable to the *Pythagorean* Doctrine in that Respect; as certainly the Tenets of the *Gallick* Druids have been, from whom the former might have receiv'd theirs: whereof the learned Mr. *Edward L'huid*, in his *Archæologia Britannica*, (under the Title of *Irish* Manuscripts, Page 136,) gives a Specimen, which he found in an old *Irish* Volume kept in the *Badley* Library at *Oxford*: These are his Words; *This Book, as is common in old Irish Manuscripts, has here and there some Latin Notes, intermin'd with Irish, and may possibly contain some Hints of the Doctrine of the Druids; as may be guess'd from these Words in the 1034 Leaf: (the Irish Characters I only change into the common, and what is left in that Language, I express in Latin along with the rest, to make the Sense perfect, to such as may not understand the former.) Tuus fuit in forma altri centum annis, postea apud Hibernos viginti annis in forma corvi, centum annis in forma aquile, sex annis sub aquis in forma piscis: iterum in forma hominis, dum venerit ad tempus Finnei, abnepatis Eithnei.* And such are the choice Historians followed by *Cambrensis*, *Keating*, *Walsh*, and the learned Bishop *Stilling-*

*Still*ing *fleet* himself; which (if they had been of any Weight whatsoever) 'tis not very probable, that either *Innisfalensis* in his Enquiry into the Antiquities of that Country, *Tiegernacus* in his Chronicle, or the Writers of the *Ulster* Annals, all ancient and reputable Authors, would have pass'd by them, and their Accounts, in deep Silence. I said reputable Authors, for so they are generally taken to be, being capable of undergoing the severest Criticism, and Scrutiny imaginable; unless you wou'd think the learned Primate *Usher* was out in his Judgment, who found such an Exactness and Veracity in them, and especially in the *Ulster* Annals, that he gives them preference to several of the kind, and thereby corrects many ancient and modern Writers, even venerable *Bede* himself in things that fell out about the time he was born 712, &c. and the age next before. But why do I mention that learned Prelate, with Relation to these presumptive Historiographers of our own Time. They know as much of him, as of the Authors now named, tho' Natives of the same Land; and as much of both, as they do of the *Thracian Orpheus*, or *Sanchoiathen*, who wrote before the *Trojan War*.

It's worth observing also, that the above-quoted Mr. *L'buid*, in the Catalogue he gives,

*De Prim. Eccl.
Brit. p. 948.*

gives, in the same Place, of the *Irish* Manuscripts of *Trinity* College in *Dublin*, which were thoroughly view'd, and examin'd by himself, mentions no such Book as *Psaltair-Tara* or *Tarach*, which our Present Antiquary pretends in his very Advertisements to be there; and that he has a Transcript, or some Part of it copied from thence, to embellish and enlarge his said *Keating* with. And it is very strange, it being only to be translated by him, that he would give himself the Liberty to add to, or make any Variation from the Original; (I mean the Copy in his Hands.) But the truth is, his Name is only made use of for a flourish, or outward shew, whilst others behind the Curtain are hard at Work, in licking this ill-born Cub into some Shape, under the Direction of a certain Gentleman, who already has render'd himself famous by new Schemes of Doctrine and Religion, upon the Authority of some old Manuscripts no body else could see or come at besides himself. But finding by the printed Papers, that the said Gentleman, who was Mr. *Toland*, is now dead, I'll cease (*Quia de mortuis nil nisi bonum*) to say more of him, only this, that he seem'd to be so well qualified for the Work, he was employed in, that the loss of the Undertakers must be very sensible to them,

them, and hardly to be retriev'd. As to Dr. *Keating*, because it was in Esteem with the Bards of the Time, that ingenious and noble Lord, the Earl of *Orrery*, Grandfather to the present Earl, (out of Curiosity to know the Contents) had it translated into *English* for him about the Year 1668; which the before-mentioned *Walsh*, in his Prospect of *Ireland*, says, he had borrowed from the Earl of *Anglesea* Lord Privy-Seal, to furnish him with Matter for his said Book. But neither the illustrious Owner, nor any of the Family ever since, that appears, thought it deserv'd being brought to Light, and therefore 'twas condemn'd to perpetual Darkness. Now, indeed it may be, this new Translation will fetch it out again, which I would have the present Undertakers take particular Notice of; that they may act with all Candour, and Sincerity.

Having spoken of the Nature of this Collection, 'tis but just I shou'd say something of the Author; how qualified to write, what Motives he had in making the said Collection, and whether he design'd it for a just History of the Country.

Dr. *Keating* was born towards the End of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, in the County of *Tipperary*, ten Miles to the South-West of
Clonmell,

Glennell, near a Village call'd *Burges*, where a Seminary or School for *Irish* Poetry had been kept for a considerable time. As his Parents (who were of good Reputation, and in warm Circumstances) design'd him for the Service of the Church, they took care to give him early Education, such as that part of the Country could best afford; so that being often in Company with the Masters and Scholars of the said Seminary, by Conversation and Use, he attain'd to a competent Skill in the Dialect, and Strains peculiar to that Profession: Hereof there are many Instances; and, among the rest, two elegant Poems, viz. an Elegy upon the Death of the Lord *Desfes*, and a Burlesque Poem, in praise of a Servant of his own, nam'd *Symon*, whom he compares with the ancient Heroes. Being arriv'd at a proper Age, he took holy Orders, and went abroad to perfect his Studies. Upon his Return, (which was about the second Year of King *Charles* the First's Reign) he preached in many Places, and in a little time gain'd great Applause: So that where-ever he was to preach next, (which always was advertis'd at the last meeting) a vast Concourse of People flock'd to partake of his Instructions.

It fell out very unluckily, that to one of his Sermons came a Gentlewoman, whose Maiden

Maiden Name was *Elinor Laffen*, then married to 'Squire *Moclar*, an easy good sort of Gentleman. She was very handsome, and somewhat vain from hearing much of her own Praises, and the Perfections of her Beauty. This the Libertines, who knew her weak Side, never miss'd of filling her Ears with, as the Musick she lik'd best, and so getting into a greater Freedom and Familiarity with her, might possibly have improv'd some few Minutes to her Disadvantage; in so much that she became the common Subject of Discourse in those Parts. To make the Accident more fatal to her, and the Preacher, his Sermon was chiefly upon Morality, and the Blessings which commonly attend it, with relation to either Sex. In the Detail, as he spoke of Modesty on the one side, he touch'd upon Lubricity and Vice on the other; and even enlarg'd upon the last, as if of set purpose to work a present Reformation in this Gentlewoman. Whether he levell'd at her in this Discourse, is now hard to be rightly guess'd at; nor is it very material, since she took it so, and would not be persuaded to the contrary: But what much added to her Confusion was, that when ever the Priest hinted upon any amorous Intrigue, that was suitable to her Conduct, most of
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the Congregation would turn their Faces towards her; perhaps out of Curiosity to see, whether she kept her Countenance, under so severe a Lecture. In a Word, she was upon tenterhooks till the Entertainment was over, and then retir'd galled to the Heart, and full of Wrath and Revenge against an Enemy, that had so publicly declar'd himself against her, as she verily thought he did. Nor was her Stay longer at home, than she could get her Equipage ready for a Journey; having (through the Indulgence of an over-fond Husband) the reins of Government in her own Hands.

Amongst her Admirers was a noble Earl, then Lord President of the Province, upon whom, it seems, she had conferr'd some of her Favours. To him she goes straight, he being then at *Lymerick*, and lays open the harsh Treatment she had met with, from first to last. That upon his Account she had been made a Game of, and expos'd to Ridicule in the Face of the whole Country, &c. Therefore if he expected the Continuance of her Good-will, he must vindicate her Honour, by an exemplary Punishment upon the Person, who in so open and vile a Manner, took the Liberty to tarnish it.

The Eloquence of *Demosthenes*, or *Cicero*, never more effectually wrought upon the Passions

Passions of their Auditories, nor excited a greater Heat in them, than did these the Complaints of the said Lady mingled with her Tears, operate upon that Lord; he taking the Indignity as partly done to himself, and that thereby he ran a risque of losing a Conversation, that was so very dear to him. The Result was, that Orders were immediately issued for Horse and Foot, to go in quest of our Preacher, as obnoxious to the Laws provided against Seminary Priests, &c. and a great Reward was offer'd to any that should apprehend him. This so scar'd the poor Man, that immediately he chang'd both Garb and Name, kept in close Retirements for some Months, and at length quitted the whole Province. In this Misfortune, he lurk'd, sometimes in one Place, and sometimes in another, but mostly at the Abodes of the Poets, with whom he had contracted a Friendship in his Youth; where meeting with good Store of old Books, and Manuscripts, to divert his Thoughts, he would now and then look over some, and copy out what he took a Fancy for. Which being continued for about two Years, and in several Places, at last completed this Collection, which now goes under his Name. The Bards and Poets, indeed, extremely lik'd it, because it would save them

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the Trouble of searching for Characters that were suitable to their Occasions, and for that reason took several Copies of it, in the Beginning. But when the Storm blew over, and the Doctor had an Opportunity to confer with more judicious Men, concerning his Work, he found it would not stand the test of an History; not only for that the first Part of it, which preceded the *Milesian* Conquest, was without any Probability or Appearance of Truth; as having ever been exploded by all Criticks, (I mean the Substance and Contents of it, gather'd from the empty Notions of the *Metempsychosis*, or Shape-changing Doctrine of the Druids) but because in the second, which reaches down from the said Conquest; though the Series, and Succession of the Kings, with many of their Actions, might be depended upon, in the main, for Reality; yet these also were so blended and interwoven with Fables, that they would carry no greater Weight than the first. Since therefore he could not help what was done, by getting in the Copies already taken, which was not in his Power to accomplish, he desir'd it should never be translated into any other Language, nor otherwise regarded, than as a Miscellany of indigested things, wherein judicious and discerning Natives might

might find something worth their perusal at leisure Hours. This took well for a time, and the nature of the Work it self made that Caution necessary; so that tho' several *English* Gentlemen in high Posts in that Country, desir'd a Translation of it at any Price, yet none ever prevail'd, before the said noble Lord; and it was the Father of a Gentleman lately deceas'd in *London*, (who commonly went by the Name of Count *Conniers*) that was won by this Lord (he being a Neighbour, and one who understood the *Irish* pretty well) to perform that Task. This was so generally resented, that he gain'd not only the Ill-will of many, but was even attack'd, and in danger of losing his Life several times on the same Account. Such as it is, let it have its Weight: But as 'tis far from being an History, I believe no Man of Judgment will take it for one, or from the Imperfection thereof, censure the real and ancient Monuments of that Kingdom, which may deserve a better Consideration. What hath pass'd hitherto, might have been done out of Ignorance, and want of a right Information of the Case, as is here set forth; but if another new Translation of the Fables above-mentioned be obtruded upon the World, for the sake of a little present Gain; I believe that every

true and understanding Native will look upon it as an Injury done to their Country, and explode it accordingly.

Having before mention'd a Seminary, or School for Poetry; to obviate a Notion which otherwise might be entertained, viz. that it was of the same nature with Schools and Colleges in other Countries, in which not only Poetry, but the other liberal Sciences, with the learned Languages, are taught and acquir'd: I think I may in this Place shew the Difference, it being of another kind; as rather agreeing with Customs us'd in very ancient and remote Parts, where no one eminent Calling was suffer'd to interfere with any other, each having their Professors peculiar to themselves, and these within certain Tribes strictly tied up to it, under very severe Penalties provided against Transgressors: Which as to Poetry, and most of the rest, was still preserv'd in *Ireland* upon the same Footing, till the Beginning of the Troubles in 1641. This is an Argument of the great Antiquity of the People, and that their Origin was very wide of those Nations, Mr. *Camden*, and other modern Writers would fetch it from, grounding themselves upon Conjectures, that seem not to have very much in 'em; and passing by

(at the same time) such clear Indications as could not (being well weighed) but have afforded them a great deal of Light in their Searches, and at last perhaps have gratified their Labour, by the Discovery of the thing, they sought for. That this was the Custom of the *Irish*, viz. that the liberal Arts and Sciences should be in collegiat, and hereditary Bodies alone; you have the Testimony of the same Mr. Camden. *These Lords* (says he) *have their Historians about them, who write their Acts and Deeds: They have their Physicians also; and Rymers, whom they call Bards; yea and their Harpers, who have every one of them their several Livelihoods, and Lands set out for them. And of these there be in each Territory several Professors; and those within some certain, and several Families; That is to say the Brehons (Judges) be of one Stock and Name, the Historians of another; and so of the rest, who instruct their own Children and Kinsmen, and have some of them always to be their Successors.* In like manner does Sir John Davis, Attorney-General to King James I, in that Kingdom, observe in his Treatise of *Ireland*, who hereupon is quoted by the former: which Institution was the very same formerly in Use with the *Arabians, Egyptians, Chaldeans,* and some other *Asiatic Nations*, while they

Tit. Hiber.

* L. 2. p. 176. enjoyed their own Laws and Liberties, as *Hierodorus**, *Diodorus Siculus*†, the Geographers, and others inform us. Nor is this the only Argument that can be made use of in such an Enquiry: There are several besides as convincing, especially those brought from Manners, and Customs at large, from Laws, Rites, Worship, the Language of the Natives, with its Idioms, and Dialects, proper Names of Men, Women, Names of Mountains, Rivers, Promontories, &c. These and the like, the judicious *Varro**, and *Tacitus*†, think very fit to be examin'd upon such Occasions, so that without 'em, hardly any Certainty can be attain'd; which having not been done by such as have professedly treated of *Ireland*, (except as hereafter mentioned) 'tis not to be wonder'd they had so little Success. And perhaps that was the reason, which occasioned a Censure by this Verse upon the said Mr. Camden,

* De Orig.
† De morib.
German.

*Perlustras Anglos oculis, Cambdeno duobus,
Una oculo Scotos, cæcus Hibernigenas.*

who certainly was a Learned Writer, and very capable of making better Discoveries, with relation to *Ireland*, if he had either had the Assistance of any honest and judicious Native thereof, or had seen more of the ancient Historians,

Historians, and other Writers of that Place, than he did. The Affinity he found between some Words us'd by the ancient *Gauls*, *Britons* and *Irish*, chiefly made him conclude; That from the first, the second were descended, and from these the last. But it is more than probable, and perhaps demonstrable, that the said Words originally were neither *Gallick* nor *British*, but foreign to both Nations, till introduc'd therein upon Commerce; and Intercourse had with Strangers, as divers religious Rites and Customs were by the same means establish'd. So that if a thing, which with humble Submission, I think, is very probable, may be suppos'd (and the Learned *Bochart* in a great Measure has already done it to my Hands) Mr. *Camden*'s Scheme or Account loses all its Force, and falls to the Ground. For I take it for granted, that the Notion of all Countries to have been first inhabited, viz. each from the next adjoining, to be now too threadbare to sway with any body, when the *Phœnicians* and the *Greeks* are irrefragably known to have inhabited Places at vast Distances from home. And *Tacitus* acquaints us, that such as in ancient Times made remote Settlements, had steer'd their Course thither by Sea, and not by Land. But 'tis otherwise with Mr. *Camden*, when

De Ling. Phœn.
c. 43.

Vide Buchanan
& *Camb. de Brit.*

De morib.
German.

Tis Hibernia.

he treads upon sure Grounds, as may appear by his Derivation of *Jerin*, or *Erin*, the principal Name of *Ireland*, which he fetches from the Word *Hiere*, signifying in the Language or Tongue of the old Natives, *West*. This Conjecture, he corroborates from the Situation of the Isle, being reputed, till of late, the most Western Part of the known World; and the same Name in remote Antiquity fix'd upon a Cape or Promontory, in the very extreme of *Spain* to the West, doubtless then believ'd also to be the End of the World, and a *nihil ultra* on that Side; whence *Hercules* was suppos'd to have erected his Pillars there; also the most Western River in *Spain* nam'd *Ferna*, and another of the like Signification in *Ireland*, &c. But besides these, mention'd by the said Author to have had an Affinity to the aforesaid Name; and a Mountain in the former bordering upon the Ocean so call'd, there was another much to his Purpose, viz. *Erythia*, an Isle three Miles long and one broad, as *Pliny* tells us, stretching in sideways between *Cales* and the main Continent of *Spain*, long since sunk, or overwhelmed by the Salt Water, which *Hesiod* in his Story of the *Theban Hercules*, calls * *Iere*, or *Ierne*;

Deab. l. 3.

L. 4. p. 54.
30.

In Theog.

* *Ἰπρυς ἐστὶν ἰσθμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρώδου. Hercules having made his Way over into Ierin.* adding

adding that it was from thence the said Hero had carried off the Herd of the famous *Geryon*, upon vanquishing him there. *Pliny* in the same Place calls it *Erythia*, upon the Authority of *Ephorus*, and *Philistides* from *Timæus*, and *Silenus Aphrodisias* from the Natives of the Place, the Isle of *Juno*. *Strabo* also speaks of it, and many other both *Greek* and *Latin* Authors. But why was it called *Iere*, unless for the Situation of it in the West, as the said other Places mention'd? For without doubt they that first impos'd the Name, had a regard to the Position of the Place's particular Quality, or some visible distinguishing Marks upon them; as in that of *Albion*, reputed the most ancient Name of *Great Britain*, to which the white Cliffs of it on the Channel, as the common Opinion is, had probably given Occasion. But there being nothing of that sort on the West of *Spain*, which was very particular, the Situation seems to have been chiefly consider'd on this Occasion. And therefore the said Name might have well had its Birth from thence in the said different Places: For the reason of severally imposing it must have been common to all the Places so nam'd, and nothing was so but the Site, or Position as aforesaid. It likewise follows from thence, that the Word

Festus Avien
Eustathius in
Perieg. Marci-
anus, Heracl.
Pomp. Mela.

G. Buchanan
l. 1. p. 11.

Here

Here or *There*, implying the *West*, had the same Acceptation in the Language of those that impos'd the said Names; as, on t'other side, the Identity and perfect Agreement of the Name in several Places, implies, that the Authors us'd the same Language, or some Dialects of it, which is all one.

That the said Part of *Spain* was generally reckon'd, in old Times, to be the most westerly of the World, is made out by the unanimous Sense and Concurrence of ancient Writers. Many of the *Greeks*, till after *Alexander's* Time, took it for granted, that the Sun set on the *Spanish* Coast in the very Brink of the Ocean, with a terrible and tremendous Noise, occasion'd by the Intercourse of two contrary Elements, viz. Fire and Water; and that thereupon dark Night ensued, under which the rest of the Ocean, or outward Sea eternally lay; of which Opinion was *Pindarus*, *Possidonius*, and *Strabon*, &c. as *Strabo* relates. But the going down of the Sun implies the West, as the rising of it does the East, according to the common Notion of Mankind. The *Roman* Writers also, that improv'd by the *Greeks*, had the same Idea as to the Situation of that part of *Spain*, viz. that it was in the extreme West, whence

whence Ovid speaking of it, delivers himself thus, I. Met.

*Vesper, & occiduo que litorea sale repestum,
Proxima sunt Zephyro.*

and Claudian

L. 2. de Rap.
Prof.

*Solus amazonio cinctus Stymphalidas arca
Appetis: occiduo ducis ab orbe greges.*

as also Horace

Lib. 1. Carm.

Qui nunc Hesperia victor ab ultima.

The Difficulty then lies, which of three Nations, (for none else could pretend to it) were those that have given the said Name to so many Places in Spain; whether the *Aborigines*, or first Inhabitants thereof; the *Phœnicians* who (in process of Time) made very early Voyages thither; or the *Greeks*, that likewise made Settlements there, if we may give Credit to *Livy*, and other late Authors. Not the last, because the said Name had been fix'd many Ages, before ever they came so far Westwards, as may appear by the last mentioned *Greek* Authors, that were not very early, and yet knew nothing of those Parts, which has occasion'd their giving such fabulous Accounts of 'em. 'Tis true, *Coleus* the *Samian*, sailing for *Egypt*, was in sight of

Dec. 3. lib.
1. Florus. &c.

of himself and Crew, by a Sorm and strong easterly Winds rising, forc'd back from his Course, and hurried all along to the *Streights*

L. 4. p. 314. *Mouth and Tartessus*, as *Herodotus* writes; which *Coleus* liv'd about 600 Years before the Birth of Christ, and is believ'd to have been the first Sailor of *Greece*, that ever reach'd to the Coast of *Spain*. But neither he, nor Posterity, were much improv'd thereby, as remaining still in the same Ignorance; which is plain by the Error of the Philosopher, who believ'd, that the Continent of *India*, was adjoyn-

ibid. p. 271. ing to the Pillars of *Hercules*. And *Herodotus* absolutely denies the Being of an Ocean at all, or any Sea surrounding the main Continent;

Plat. in Phaedo. whereof, as far as it is habitable, *Plato* makes *Phasis*, a River of *Colchis* on the East, and the said Pillars of *Hercules* on the West, to be the two greatest Extremes. For what *Homer*, *Hesiod*, and *Onomacritus* the Writer of the *Argonauts*, have observ'd of the West of *Europe*, they had learnt it by hearsay, and chiefly from the *Phœnician* Traders, who from thence carried Tin, Lead, Amber, and other valuable Commodities to the Markets of *Greece*. And the said Notions being very exact, and form'd as it seems upon good Experience, it is very strange, that the subsequent Ages, till the Time aforesaid, viz. the

Rise

Rise of the *Macedonian* Empire, had no manner of Regard thereto, so as to form a right Judgment by it, as they might have done. But the truth is, they took 'em to be purely poetical and fabulous, as most of the rest deliver'd by the said Authors. As to the certainty of the said Notions, what can be more exact as to the Situation of *Ireland* in the Western Ocean, and the Distance of it from the *Streights Mouth* and the *Mediterranean*, than about ten Days sailing, which *Homer* gives *Ulysses*, as well in his Course thither, as when he fetches him back from thence; wherein *Onomacritus* almost agrees with him, making the same Course, taken by the *Argonauts*, to have been of twelve Days only; and the small Difference noted might be imputed to the Accidents of the Wind and Weather, suppos'd to have serv'd on the said Occasions. Not that the said Voyages had ever been made by either *Ulysses* or the *Argonauts*; tho' the last of 'em, *Olaus Rudbeck*, in his *Atlantica*, * would endeavour to justify, discovering in the North, certain Channels and Lakes, whereby he makes a Communication or Passage by Water, between the *Tanais* and the *Baltick*; as also *Dr. Keating* first fetching the *Millefians* or ancient *Irish* in Ships from *Scythia* that Way. But the Poets aforesaid hearing

Vid Odyf. a. de Atlant. & Columnis Herc. Odyf. 7. v. 254. & v. 267.

Strab. l. 1.

* C. 26.
See *Hernius* in his *Maps*.

ing of the Isles in the Western Ocean, to magnifie the Sea-Navigations of their Heroes, feigned them to have touch'd upon the most Western of all, which seems to be the reason why they mentioned *Ireland*, and no other; *Orpheus* or *Onomacritus* calling it by its most common Name *Jorno*, and *Homer* by that of *Ogygia*. 'Tis Pleasant enough that *Sir James Ware*, against the Current of all Writers, would deny *Ireland* to be *Ogygia*, because *Plutarch*, tho' placing it to the West of *Britain*, makes the Distance between both to be five Days sailing. It might be so for ought *Plutarch* knew, as it takes up more very often in our own Time. And the *Romans* themselves, notwithstanding the vast Extent of their Power, did not as yet fully discover the Nature and Dimensions of the *British* and *Irish* Sea, as appears by *Tacitus*, in the Life of *Agriicola*, by whom *Britain* itself was but a little before discover'd to be an Island; and *Solinus* believ'd the said Sea to be navigable only a few Days in Summer. Nor was it a less Mistake of *Mr. Camden* to say, that *Orpheus* in the same Voyage meant *Britain* of the plentiful Isle under the Dominion of *Ceres*, when he expresses it was after twelve Days sailing from *Ireland*, and getting out of the Ocean, the sharp *Lynceus* made

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Disq. de Hib.
c. 1.

Lib. de mac.
in orbe luna.

P. 35.

it at a vast Distance, and for a farther Mark of it observes, that it was therein *Proserpina* being inveigled out by her Relations, (meaning *Venus*, and *Pallas*) under Pretence of gathering Flowers, had been betrayed by them to *Pluto*; which Particulars and Circumstances can relate to no other than *Sicily* alone; so that Mr. *Camden*'s Labour upon the said Passage to prove the Fertility of *Britain*, from the great Supplies of Corn sent from thence to the *Roman* Armies in *Gaul*, might have been well spar'd.

Hesiod also is right in his Description of his *Spanish Ierne*, otherwise *Erythia*, though wrong in making *Geryon* and the *Theban Hercules* to have been ever there, being therein contradicted by sincere and good Authors in following Ages. The grounds of this Invention were, that the said *Hesiod*, and other *Greek* Writers, finding the *Tyrian Hercules* to have made several lucky Expeditions towards the Ocean, fix'd many Colonies of his People upon the Borders of it, and thereby got a great Renown, attributed most of his Actions to their own *Hercules*, who was ten Generations later than him. Nor is it to be omitted, that the *Grecian* Traders, upon several successful Voyages to *Spain*, and the Ocean, where-ever they found *Iere*, *Ierin*,

*Claud. l. 2.
de rapt. Proserp.*

*Apian in Iberici.
Arian. l. 2.
Anabas.
Eustath. in
Dionysiac.*

or

or any Declension of that Name, they translated it according to their own Sense of the Word, *Sacred*; for the meaning of *Ieros, Iera, Ieron*, being an Adjective of three Terminations in their Language, is *Sacred*; which the *Romans* likewise did upon their Authority.

*Fest. Avienus
in oris Maritim.*

Strab. lib.

Whence we find *Ireland* called *Insula Sacra*, that Cape of *Spain* upon the Ocean, formerly called *Ierne, Promontorium Sacrum*, and even a whole Nation of People besides the *Irish*, from the Situation of their Country to the West, so call'd, as hereafter shall be seen, call'd by Mistake, or a wrong Exposition of the Word, which instead of *Sacred* should have been render'd *Westerly*, or on the *West*.

As to the *Aborigines*, or those beyond the Memory of all Times, planted in *Spain*, severally imposing the said Name; this could hardly be, howsoever rich from the happy Soil they liv'd in, for so they are said to have been even upon the Testimony of holy Writ, as 'tis generally taken. Yet as they were not strong enough to oppose the many Settlements that were made by Foreigners in their Country, and consequently not populous enough to occupy it all themselves, they did not give Names to several Places, and especially in the extreme Parts of the Land on the

Arist. in mirabil.

Herodot. lib. 4.

Gen. x. 4.

Ezech. xxvii.

27.

side

side of the Ocean, when the first Adventurers came and settled there. Besides, the same People that established *Iere* in *Spain*, must be suppos'd to have done it in *Ireland* likewise, by reason of the Identity of the Name, and the Motives for it as strong here as in the former. But the *Aborigines* cannot be suppos'd to have gone so far by Sea, being found without Shipping, or any naval Stores worth taking Notice of. It naturally then follows, that the old *Phœnicians*, who began their Navigation in *Joshua's* time, if not before, sailed all over the *Mediterranean*; fix'd many Colonies on the Coasts of it; and finally, (which strengthens the rest) planted Colonies over all this * *Wester* Part, probably uninhabited before. Were the true Authors of the said Name enquired into, their Language seems to have had so great an Affinity with the *Hebrew*, that any two of both Nations qualified to speak, might understand one another without Interpreters, as is visible by the Passage of the Spies of *Joshua*, and the *Canaanitish*, or *Phœnician*, (which are Syno-

Sirab. l. 6.

Sil. Ital. l. 17, v. 25.

* *Oram eam universam originis Pœnorum existimavit Marcus Agrippa. Plin. lib. 4.*

Porro in isto littore stetero crebra civitates antea, Phœnix quæ nunc habuit hos pridem locos. Fest. Avienus ibid.

nimous) Harlot, that shelter'd them in her House, as the Scripture mentions; setting forth all the material Circumstances, even the very Names of all the Parties concern'd in that Transaction. But in one Sense, the West in this Tongue being *Hereb*, or *Ereb*, which seems to include *Hiere*, at least to have the same Radix with it, may much conduce to justify the true Meaning of the Word *Iere*, given as aforesaid; and in the *Phœnician* itself, *Hereb* properly signifies the West, which makes the Intendment stronger.

Vide Fragment. Sanchoniatonis apud Eusebium Pamphili.

Not do I think it too bold to advance, that the famous *Cerne*, a little Isle over-against the most westerly Point of *Africk*, has the same Origin, for the Reasons above-mention'd, and that by right it should be written *Jerne*, and not *Cerne*; for this we have from suspected Hands, *Greeks* and *Romans*, each of whom was apt to model Foreign Names to the Genius of his own Tongue: and sometimes in old Manuscripts one Letter by Emission, or some accidental Blemish, might be so alter'd, as afterwards to pass for another, as may be seen by several Passages in the Classics, whose Sense by that means became doubtful. In the *Cadmean* or old *Ionick* Alphabet, which was first had from the *Phœnicians*, and afterwards practis'd by both the said Nations, the

Gamma, that therein did the Function of *e*, differs but very little from the small *Iota*, which likewise might have occasioned the Mistake. This Supposition is the more rational, in that the Natives of this Tract of *Afric*, over-against *Cerne*, were called *Ieroi*, or *Sacred*; which must be taken for dwelling on the *West*, for the Reasons given before: as also the Region it self most *sacred*, or rather the most *westerly* Part of the Continent: For so *Scylan Caryandæus* in his *Periplus*, or Sea Circuit, calls both the said Nation and Region. Whence it is plain, there were more *Ilands* formerly than one; and that the present *Irisb* were not the only People that were called from the Situation of the Country they liv'd in. So that *Mr. Camden's* Conjecture seems not to be without a solid Foundation; and if he had work'd farther in the same Mine, 'tis probable he might have found a great deal more of pretious Oar there; whereas rambling at large, or out of the way, is subject to Incertainties and loss of Time,

Τῆς δ' Λιβύης πᾶσα αὕτη ἡ χώρα ὀνομαστάτη καὶ
ἐκτάτη. *Lybiæ autem hæc Regio tota est celeberrima &*
extensa.

Πρὸς τὸν τὸν ποταμὸν περιεχόμεναι Αἰθίοπες ἱεροί.
τὰ δ' ταῦτα ἵστος ἐστὶν ἢ ὄνομα Κέρνῃ. Hunc fluvium
quædam habitant *Ethiopes Sacri: citius hæc est insula, Cernæ*
pellata, pag. 51.

in a great Measure, as has been the Fate of most of the said Authors, that have treated of *Ireland*. For it is not the bare Authority of a Writer, that will prevail with Men of Sense, in Dissertations of this kind, but the coercive Force of his Arguments, and the Clearness of his Reasons, grounded upon Principles and Authorities that are solid, and agreeable to the things treated of. Now to compare the Derivation of *Ierix*, brought by Mr. Camden, as aforesaid, with that of the fabulous *Druids* in *Keating*, which is to this effect, viz. that when the old Spaniards invaded the said Isle, the Government thereof was in Colleague Brothers, three by Name, Ethur, Cethur, and Tethur, otherwise called, Mac Cuil, Mac Ceit, and Mac Greine; that these being respectively married to three Women, viz. Fodhla, Banaba, and Eire, they govern'd in their turn each for a Year; the King in being giving the Name of his Queen to the Country during his Administration: whence Ireland ever afterwards retain'd the said three Names, Eire, Banaba, and Fodhla; the first indeed commoner than any of the rest, for that Eire and her Husband were the last that had the Regency, when compell'd by force to yield to the said conquering Invaders. I say, upon comparing those two Derivations, the Solidity of the one, and the

Levity

Levity of the other, will appear at first View. For the *Druids* (like ancient Philosophers, who to cover their Ignorance, or Laziness, set up hidden Qualities, as the only Reasons to be given of natural Effects, which they could not account for,) meeting with hard Names of Countries, Rivers, Mountains, &c. they invented Heroes, or great Actors, as of remote Antiquity, in affinity of Sound with the same, pretending they were the true Authors thereof. As *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, or the first Broacher of that History of the ancient *Britons*, that is commonly taken for his Work, attributes the Name *Britain*, to his untraceable *Brutus*; but the more Judicious concur with the learned *Bochart*, who apprehends it to be a Compound of two Words, *viz.* *Barat*, and *anae*, signifying in the disjunctive, Land, and Tin; but together, as here, Land or Country, where Tin is found, and traffick'd with as a Native Commodity; in which they follow the Direction of *Plato*, in his *Cratylus*, with relation to the ancient Names of Places, *viz.* that the Etymology of 'em should be sought for among Foreigners; whereby he meant those Foreigners, who had in the earliest Times frequented the said Places. In like manner, Bishop *Lesley*, in his History of the *Scotts*, relating many

l. 2. de Colon.
& ling. Phoen.

things out of the Archives of their Kingdom, in the North of *Great Britain*, of higher Date than the Birth of Christ by several Centuries, among their great Men produces on *Thanaus*, a Person of wonderful Sagacity and Wisdom, come from *Spain* into *Ireland*, to compose some intestine Broils between the *Scots* then living there; who upon Success therein, advis'd them to chuse a King, and propos'd *Simon Breck* as the Man; which being done accordingly, (as our Historian reports) the said *Simon* out of Gratitude promoted him to great Preferments; and that

Warr. dis. de it was from the said *Thanaus*, that the chief
Hib. *Camd. tran-* Governors of Provinces in *Scotland* even in
stat. p. 49. latter times were called *Thanes*, &c. And yet it does sufficiently appear, that the Word *Thane* is of German or Teutonick Extraction, still in Use amongst the *Danes*, in the very Sense of the Prelate; and consequently borrowed from, or introduc'd by them in the said Kingdom, upon their reducing a great Part of it under their Dominion. But it may be said in favour of the Bishop, that his Derivation of the *Thanes*, is by a great deal modester, than the afore said Stroke of the *Druids* in *Keating*, concerning the Origin of the Name *Eire*. For how came such a fantastical Government to have enter'd into the

Brains

Brains of any Man, without either Precedent or Reason to recommend it? that one or other of the said three Collegues should be king'd, and unking'd every Year, and that peaceably, and without Bloodshed, so contrary to the Nature of Royalty, and the sad Experience of all Ages, whereby we find that old Remark to be very just, *Infida Regni Societas*; or as *Philip*, the last of that Name, King of *Macedon*, in the Feud between his two Sons, about the Succession of his Kingdom, expresses it in *Livy*—*Nec Fratrem, nec Patrem potestis Pati. Nihil Chari, nihil Sancti est, in omnium vicem, Regni unius insatiabilis Amor successit.* What then became of the *Ex- rex*? or how was he regarded during his Reccess? Why the Name of the Country changeable every Year along with the Queen? or was the Authority vested in the governing Woman alone, that she could name the Kingdom as she pleas'd? And this being yielded, what prevail'd with the Conquerors, to jump in the same Whim and Humour, with the Conquer'd. As to the Men *Cerbur*, *Ethur*, and *Tetbur*, why so call'd, and in what Language or Tongue to be accounted for? or if the said Kings were Sons of *Cearmada*, as our goodly Authors say, why were they nick-nam'd by them *Mac Cuil*,

Dec. 4. l. 10.

*Warre disq.
de Hib.*

Mac Ceit, Mac Greine, and not every one of them *Mac Cearmada*, which should have been, by the ancient Custom of the Country, which never till the Invention of Surnames therein, about the eleventh Century, added *Mac* to any but the Name of the Father, when both affirmed of the Son by way of Distinction. But the more one enquires into the said Fiction, and the like; the greater light he gets of these Impostures, which should be the only reason of making the least mention of 'em, and consequently they are to be exploded by all sincere and judicious Men.

*Vide de mori-
bus Chinesium,
& extremae Asiae
populorum.*

The Custom touch'd above, restraining the Practice of Sciences to certain Families or Tribes, in every large Territory, tho' not entertain'd any where else in *Europe*, had Motives of its own, perhaps not very contemptible. For the Experience being engross'd by People of the same Consanguinity, nothing was made a Secret, and every one improv'd, as well by the Essays, or Tryals of each other, as by his own, and *vice versa*. Then the Observation of all, that had pass'd before, within the same Country and People, lay ready for their Perusal, either recorded in Books, or otherwise conceiv'd in such a manner as might serve to inform their Understanding;

ding; and not only the said Observations, but the Dispositions, or prevailing Humours of the great Families they had in their Care. As for Example, in curing the Ailings of human Bodies, of what use would it be to know the natural Inclinations of the Patient, and the Habits receiv'd by him from his Parents, together with his Blood? which being well consider'd of by an able Phyfician, with the Indication then appearing, could not but confer much to his making a speedy and effectual Cure. And what is said of Pharmacy alone, may relate as well to other Professions.

Besides, in the said Colleges, Nature had no sooner done her own Work in ripening the Comprehension of the Youth for Learning, than he was enter'd upon the Rudiments thereof, under careful Masters, whose Interest it was to promote him therein as soon as possible; so that he became an able Proficient, if not a Master in his Profession, before Men otherwise apply themselves. Then being destin'd to the one Calling from his Birth, he made that his sole Business; having neither Ambition nor Inclination for any other, because debarr'd by the Constitution. For having the Advantages of his own, he might not with Impunity inroach upon the Province of another; whereas with us, or such Nations

Nations as exclude the said Custom, the Re-
 verse is observ'd for the most part. We spend a
 good part of our Youth (not to speak of the
 avocations of Pleasure, and Libertinism,) in the
 inferior Schools; where no more than small
 Gleanings of Erudition at best, and thin
 Sketches of the learned Languages, are gone
 through; a Misfortune, the Circumstances
 of many Ages make us lyable to, not at all,
 or but very little experienc'd by the Ancients.
 So that before a fit Disposition for the Scien-
 ces is acquir'd, we are pretty far gone in
 Years; and having afterwards run out the
 time appointed in Universities, or elsewhere,
 for taking Degrees in any Faculty, tho' we
 be allowed of as capable to Practice, and do
 receive Credentials for the same; yet our
 Knowledge being but a Theory, and mere
 Speculation, we are still to seek, and there-
 fore must run out a long course of dange-
 rous Experiments, before we fix our Notions
 right, and that generally at the Cost or Dan-
 ger of such as seek our Help. And it falls
 out very often, that useful Discoveries or Se-
 crets are lost, upon the Surprize of the Party
 that has 'em, by Death; as perhaps having
 no Children, or near Relations of his own,
 to acquaint them therewith in time; which
 Misfortune would be prevented the other
 way.

way. . Add to this, that an early Application having not been fix'd, the Students are seldom hearty and in earnest, gratifying rather Parents, Friends or Relations, who might have made the choice for 'em, than their own Inclinations, whence being come to riper Years, and left at full Liberty, they may take to any other Calling, and consequently be short in the necessary Perfections, either of the one or the other. Nor is there any effectual Course taken with Empericks, or Quacks, that intermeddle in Professions they have not been brought up to, with so much Injustice to the real Professors of 'em, and Risque to those that have the Misfortune to come under their Hands. As we have but a slender Notion of that excellent Institution, which center'd the Knowledge and Experience of many Ages in every Master of Arts, the great Advantages receiv'd by it, cannot be so well apprehended by us, being Strangers, as those that felt and perceiv'd 'em themselves in Fact. I'll instance one ancient Writer upon this very Head, viz. *Diodorus Siculus*, who, making a Parallel between the *Chaldean* Sages, and the *Græcian* Philosophers, starts most of the Differences aforesaid.

L. 3. c. 8.

“ Now,

“ Now, says he, that nothing worth re-
 “ lating should be omitted by us, it seems
 “ meet we should speak of the *Chaldeans* of
 “ *Babylon*, who (being of a very ancient
 “ Standing) had the Place or Rank allotted
 “ them there, which the Order of the Priests
 “ held in *Egypt*. For being chiefly addi-
 “ cted to the Worship of the Gods, they
 “ studied Philosophy most of their Time,
 “ and besides other Heads of it cultivated by
 “ them, they were reputed to be very pro-
 “ found, and knowing in Astrology. For
 “ it is not after the manner of the *Greeks*
 “ that they acquire Learning, the Children
 “ being always confin’d to the Business of
 “ the Tribe, are carefully instructed therein
 “ by their Parents, not minding any other
 “ Cares; so that the Difficulties of the Art
 “ being easily overcome by a constant Appli-
 “ cation begun in a very tender Age, at last
 “ they become most accomplish’d and lear-
 “ ned. But amongst the *Greeks*, ’tis only in
 “ riper Years any can attain a Proficiency,
 “ and even then it self very fickle, and un-
 “ steady therein they commonly give them-
 “ selves over to more profitable Employ-
 “ ments, and but very few mind the former
 “ Study. Nor are they constrain’d by their
 “ Laws to the respective Callings of their
 “ Families,

" Families, but suffer'd to follow whatever
 " they may have a fancy for; whereas Fo-
 " reigners with great Constancy persist in
 " the same Application or Exercise all along.
 " But the former, for the sake of Lucre, as
 " hinted before, running to Novelties, and
 " strenuously contending with one another,
 " even in matters of the greatest Moment, are
 " so far from preparing the Youth, under their
 " Care, with just Notions of things, that (as
 " far as it lies in them) they rather confound
 " and leave 'em without any solid Founda-
 " tion, in a Fluctuation or Uncertainty the
 " whole Course of their Lives. So if one
 " did but enquire into the Opinions of
 " the most famous of their Philosophers, he
 " would find them very different, and ban-
 " dyed about with great Heat, and Obsli-
 " nacy by their Followers. But the *Chal-*
 " *deans* unanimously hold, that the World
 " had no Beginning, nor shall have any End.
 " That the wonderful Order, and beautiful
 " Variety to be seen in the Universe, are
 " truly owing to divine Providence, as their
 " efficient Cause. That the Heavens, the
 " celestial Orbs, and all that's contain'd
 " therein, were not the Work of Chance,
 " or produc'd by themselves, but brought
 " forth, and fix'd by the determinate Will
 " and

“ and Power of the Gods, acting by the
 “ most perfect Reason and Judgment imagi-
 “ nable. The said *Chaldeans*, having by di-
 “ ligent Observations, and length of Time,
 “ rightly apprehended the Oppositions, Mo-
 “ tions, and Course of the Planets, and what
 “ thereupon usually falls out in the inferior
 “ World, which receives an Impression or
 “ Influence from them. They foretel many
 “ things which happen, and that with a great
 “ deal of Truth and Certainty.

Concerning the Poetical Seminary, or
 School, from which I was carried away to
 clear other things that fell in my way, it
 was open only to such as were descended of
 Poets, and reputed within their Tribes;
 And so was it with all the Schools of
 that kind in the Nation, being equal to
 the Number of Families, that followed
 the said Calling: But some more or less
 frequented for the Difference of Professors,
 Conveniency, with other Reasons, and sel-
 dom any come but from remote Parts, to be
 at a distance from Relations, and other Ac-
 quaintance, that might interrupt his Study.
 The Qualifications first requir'd, were read-
 ing well, writing the Mother-tongue, and
 a strong Memory. It was likewise necessary
 the Place shou'd be in the solitary Recess

of

of a Garden, or within a Sept or Inclosure, far out of the reach of any Noise, which an Intercourse of People might otherwise occasion. The Structure was a snug, low Hut, and Beds in it at convenient Distances, each within a small Apartment, without much Furniture of any kind, save only a Table, some Seats, and a Convenience for Cloaths to hang upon. No Windows to let in the Day, nor any Light at all us'd but that of Candles, and these brought in at a proper Season only. The Students upon thorough Examination being first divided into Classes; wherein a regard was had to every ones Age, Genius, and the Schooling had before, if any at all; or otherwise. The Professors, (one or more as there was occasion) gave a Subject suitable to the Capacity of each Class, determining the Number of Rhimes, and clearing what was to be chiefly observ'd therein as to Syllables, Quartans, Concord, Correspondence, Termination, and Union, each of which were restrain'd by peculiar Rules. The said Subject (either one or more as aforesaid) having been given over Night, they work'd it apart each by himself upon his own Bed, the whole next Day in the Dark, till at a certain Hour in the Night, Lights being brought in, they committed it to writing.

Being

Being afterwards dress'd, and come together into a large Room, where the Masters waited, each Scholar gave in his Performance, which being corrected, or approv'd of (according as it requir'd) either the same or fresh Subjects were given against the next Day. This Part being over, the Students went to their Meal, which was then serv'd up; and so, after some time spent in Conversation, and other Diversions, each retir'd to his Rest, to be ready for the Business of the next Morning. Every *Saturday*, and on the Eves of Festival Days, they broke up, and dispers'd themselves among the Gentlemen and rich Farmers of the Country, by whom they were very well entertain'd, and much made of, till they thought fit to take their Leaves, in order to reassume their Study. Nor was the People satisfied with affording this Hospitality alone: they sent in by turns every Week from far and near, Liquors, and all manner of Provision towards the Subsistence of the Academy; so that the chief Poet was at little or no Charges, but on the contrary got very well by it, besides the Presents made him by the Students, upon their first coming, which always was at *Michaelmas*; and from thence till the 25th of *March*, during the cold Season of the Year only, did that close Study

last.

last. At that time the Scholars broke up, and repair'd each to his own Country, with an Attestation of his Behaviour and Capacity, from the chief Professor, to those that had sent him.

The reason of so long a Vacation was, that being under the hard Duties of the School, the Students could not bear the intense Heat of the other six Months. Nor did they feel much Cold in the very rigour of Winter; whether from the Closeness of the Place, there being but little or no Passage for the cold Air to enter; or so great an Occupation of the Brain, and inward Senses, that the outward were stupefied, or became blunt in their Functions, is matter of Reflection, the Fact it self being very true. But certain it is, that the Imagination, or more immediate working of the Soul, is stronger, and of greater Force, than that which depends upon the ministry of the Organs; as may be seen by lunatic, hair-brain'd People, and Madmen, who tho' tenderly brought up, yet being in the Transports of the said Distempers, undergo many Extremes, which otherwise they could never bear; even so as to lie, and walk naked in bad Weather, without receiving much Harm by it, that can be discern'd. And in *Ireland*, before the Woods

were

were destroyed, and Mountains clear'd of over-grown Heath, Furze, and other Embarrassments, nothing was commoner, than to find many of both Sexes, who from too much Melancholy, or some such prevailing Cause, occasioned by Grief, Love, Fright or eminent Danger of Life, being turn'd in their Brains, had ran thither, and there liv'd in Tatters several Years, subsisting upon Herbs, Berries, raw Fruit, and the like, as most of the brute Beasts do; which has given Occasion to a Report of the being of wild People in that Country. Wild indeed they were, during the time; and when any of 'em were taken, (which was very difficult to compass, by reason of their great Nimbleness, and Pernicity, exceeding even that of the common Game) it was with long and extraordinary Care and Management, that they were brought to their Senses again, but ever remain'd affected or light. And perhaps if *Bedlam* were let open, there would be such living Scarecrows to be soon heard of, and seen, in the Woods and Mountains of *England* also; as in the like case it would be in other Countries.

The Reason of laying the Study aforesaid in the Dark, was doubtless to avoid the Distraction, which Light, and the variety of Objects represented thereby, commonly occu-

fions.

sions. This being prevented, the Faculties of the Soul occupied themselves solely upon the Subject in hand, and the Theme given; so that it was soon brought to some Perfection, according to the Notions or Capacities of the Students. Yet the Course was long and tedious, as we find; and it was six or seven Years, before a Mastery, or the last Degree was conferr'd; which you'll the less admire, upon considering the great Difficulty of the Art, the many kinds of their Poems, the Exactness and Nicety to be observ'd in each; which was necessary to render their Numbers soft, and the Harmony agreeable and pleasing to the Ear. Examples hercof may be seen in the Preface of Mr. *Lbuid's Irish Vocabulary*, annex'd to his *Archeologia Britannica* mention'd above; which being in a great Variety, saves me the Trouble of enlarging upon 'em here. I have read several of the said Poems, but could not in any of 'em, observe either Dress or Fancy in Imitation of the Classick Poets, or those usually read in *Latin* Schools. The greatest Beauty of the Composition consisting in a certain Contexture of corresponding Vowels and Consonants, so plac'd in every Metre, which contain'd four equal Sentences or Parts, that it made it very taking to such as had a Gust

1 2

that

that way. For which, both Vowels and Consonants receiv'd several Divisions; the first, (being either bare Vowels, Diphthongs, or Triphthongs,) into Broad and Small, Short, Long, Midling or Variable. The second also were no less distinguish'd, and set apart in Ranges, each by it self, under certain Denominations; as Changeable and Permanent, Soft and Hard, Rough and Robust, Light, Weak, Barren, and Hollow: The Distinctions, and several Uses whereof, especially in Verse, was a sort of Learning that requir'd time, and very necessary to any that might pretend to an Insight in *Irish* Poetry, which may be us'd as a strong Argument, that Letters being essential thereunto, especially short and long Vowels, * the Use of 'em hath accompanied it all along. And there are elegant Pieces of this kind still extant, whose Date vastly exceeds the Beginning of the 5th Century, when Father .Ad 17. Martii. Bolandus, in his Account of St. *Patric*, thinks

* Short and long Vowels being chiefly regarded in Quantity, and the most perfect kind of Metre, called by the Greeks (ἐμμετρον) *Emmetros*, imply Letters of Course: Whereas in the other sort corresponding Words or Syllables are only required, which for that Reason they term'd ἀμετρον, that is Verse without Admeasurement. And this being Natural, was practis'd by all Nations, even by the Greeks themselves, as may be gather'd from *Euthydemus* upon the first *Iliad*.

that Country had first receiv'd Letters. But so grossly mistaken he is, that upon Request of the Natives, as we read, one of the Tryals there, between the said Bishop *Patric*, and his Clergy on the one side, and the Heathen Druids on the other, was by the Books of Rites belonging to each Party, viz. that they should be left under Water for a considerable Time, the Victory to be of that Side, whose Books should be found less blemish'd, or chang'd by that Element; which accordingly was put in Execution, and the Issue prov'd (as Authors report) to the Advantage of Christ and the Gospel. But there was a Christian Church settled there, and Episcopal Chairs, and Jurisdictions, long before the said Bishop's carrying his Mission thither; and even the Light of the Gospel was known in the said Island from the Apostle's time, if we may believe *Eusebius*, *Phamphili*, *Nicephorus*, *Callisthus*, and many other excellent Authors, hereupon quoted by the Learned Primate *Usher*. But the Nature of the *Irish* Alphabet, what it is, whence had, and how long practis'd in that Kingdom, requiring a Treatise by it self, I'll say no more of it at present; it being sufficient to shew, that it is of greater Antiquity, than the said *Bolandus* imagined; or those that would fetch it from the *Saxons* of

*Vid. Prob. Focel.
alioq; viz a S.
Patricii Script.*

*De Prim.
Ecel. Brit. p.
740.*

*Camd. Rem.
p. 19. varr.
disq. de Hib.*

*Lib. 3. Hist.
Ecl. gent Angl.
c. 3 & c. 25.*

*De nat. Rev.
cap. 28.*

Great Britain, wherein they are contradicted by the above-mention'd Mr. *Camden*, and other more judicious Writers, than themselves, who upon good Grounds advance the quite reverse of that Assertion, viz. that the *British Saxons* had their Letters from the *Irish*; nor could they, speaking of the thing it self, have well avoided it, when they knew upon the Authority of venerable *Bede*, that most of the Northern and Inland *Saxons*, down from the Borders of the Kingdom of *Kent*, had been converted to Christianity by *Irish* Missioners and Bishops, and consequently first had their Letters and Learning from them; for which end the said Missioners not only educated *English* Youth, in *Great Britain*, but also sent vast Numbers of 'em into *Ireland*; to whom, as the said venerable Author expressly has it, the Nation, or People there gave free Entertainment, Books, Instruction, and Schooling *Gratis*. It adds much Strength to this, that it does not fully appear by any one Instance, that the said *Saxons* had the Use of Letters before; but the contrary is implied by the said *Bede*, where he observes, that the old *Saxons* in general made their Computations of Months and Years, by the Spring and Neip-tides, which happen at stated Times. For as *Germany* it self had not the Use of Letters,

Letters, as is clear by *Tacitus*, it probably remain'd in the same Ignorance till *Charlemaign's* Time*, by the means of whose Victories the Gospel got a footing in those Parts, and consequently Letters, that never fail to accompany it.

*De Morib.
Germ.*

As every Professor, or chief Poet, depended on some Prince, or great Lord, that had endowed his Tribe, he was under strict Ties to him and Family; as to record in good Metre the Marriages, Births, Deaths, Acquisitions made in War and Peace, Exploits, and other remarkable things relating to the same. He was likewise bound to offer an Elegy, on the Decease of the said Lord, his Consort, or any of their Children; and a Marriage-song, when there should be Occasion. But as to any Epick, or Heroick Verse, to be made for any other Lord or Stranger, it was requir'd, that at least a Paroemion, or Metre therein, should be upon the Patron, or the Name in general. A pleasant Instance of this happen'd in the last Age, when *Donough O Brian*, Earl of *Thoummond*, was Lord President

* This is meant of the common use of Letters, for *Othfrid* the Monk of *Wissenburg*, who flourish'd about the Year 876, is said to have been the first, that committed the German Tongue to Writing.

of the Province of *Munster*; to whom one of his Rhimers (to acquit himself of that Obligation) in a Panegyric Poem compos'd by him, in Honour of a Gentleman of the *Mac Carthies*, who had much signaliz'd himself in Martial Exploits, wish'd that some warlike Lord, or Captain of the *O Brians*, then living, had by his Merit and Conduct acquir'd so excellent a Name. This immediately taking Wind, so disgusted the Earl, that in Revenge of the Slight or Affront, he vowed his Chastisement, whenever he fell into his Hands. Hereupon the Poet, dreading the Consequences, disappear'd, and kept out of the way for some Years. Notwithstanding, it happen'd that one time, going a Journey along with his Wife, they saw at a Distance the said Earl with his Equipage, and a great Company of Horse in his Attendance, coming towards them: There being no probability of escaping, the Poet told his Wife, that he would feign himself dead as of a sudden, which she should humour by crying over him; that if the Earl ask'd the Reason, she should not conceal his Name, but beg Forgiveness for the great Folly he had been guilty of against his Lordship, and Family. The Woman acted her Part to the Life; and the Earl, when he was come up, being told
whose

whose the Corps was, he had the Curiosity to put Questions himself to her, and ask'd whether the Poet had repented of his undutiful Expression, with relation to the *O Brians*? The Woman answer'd, he did heartily; and that being surpriz'd upon Sight of his Lordship's Equipage, the Horrour of his own Guilt most sensibly touching him, he fell down dead upon the Spot; but (in Addition) said farther, that since he was gone, and made some Attonement by the long Affliction, he had suffer'd under, his Lordship would forgive him; which accordingly the Earl did, being mov'd with Compassion, and flung down the Woman some Gold to bury her Husband. This being over, the reputed dead Man springs up in an Instant, and taking hold of the Reins of the Horse, on which the Earl was mounted, pronounc'd a very exquisite Poem in his Praise, which brought him into full Favour again. It was pretended, this Piece was Extemporary, and made by the Poet whilst he there lay as dead. But 'tis more probable, that he had compos'd it before at his Leisure; and that all that was acted in this Place, was only a Farce design'd to gain a fit Opportunity, to beg and obtain the Earl's Pardon: For the Nature of the Poem, and great Beauty

Beauty of it shew, that it was a Work of Study and Time.

The last Part to be done, which was the *Action* and *Pronunciation* of the Poem, in Presence of the *Mecenas*, or the principal Person it related to, was perform'd with a great deal of Ceremony, in a Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Musick. The Poet himself said nothing, but directed and took care, that every body else did his Part right. The Bards having first had the Composition from him, got it well by Heart, and now pronounc'd it orderly, keeping even Pace with a Harp, touch'd upon that Occasion; no other musical Instrument being allow'd of for the said Purpose than this alone, as being Masculine, much sweeter, and fuller than any other. But the Harp, though the chief Ensign and Badge of the Country, is now neglected, and little understood in respect of what it has been, as may be gather'd from the Remark of the above quoted *Cambrensis*; who, tho' a Favourite at the Court of *Henry II*, King of *England*, and consequently no Stranger to good Musick, yet gave the said Instrument, as then manag'd, Preference above all that he had ever heard of, or seen of the kind, as these his own Words testify. *In musicis solum instrumentis commendabilem invenio gentis istius*
diligen-

diligentiam, in quibus præ omni Natione, quam vidimus, incomparabiliter est instructa. Non enim in his sicut in Britannicis (quibus assueti sumus) instrumentis, tarda & morosa est modulatio, verum velox, & præceps, suavis tamen & jucunda sonoritas. Mirum quod in tanta tam præcipiti digitorum rapacitate, musica servatur proportio arte per omnia indemni inter crispatos modulos, organaque multipliciter intricata, tam suavi velocitate, tam dispari paritate, tam discordi concordia, consonæ redditur & completur melodia.

As to the Function of Poetry among the ancient *Irish*, besides the common Subjects of it, almost the same in all Nations, it had the municipal Laws, and authentick Histories of the Country, no other Diction or Phrase being allowed of for that Purpose, but Metre alone: Which also having been practis'd by the ancient *Greeks*, both before and after the *Trojan War**, doubtless was a Consequence of the Use of Letters, communicated to them by *Cadmus*; which Letters, some share of the *Phœnician* Polity and Customs, may be well suppos'd to have accompanied into *Greece*. It makes much for this Conjecture, That the *Turduli* and *Turdetani*, living upon the Borders of the Ocean in *Spain*, and consequently of the *Phœnician* Colonies settled in those Parts, likewise had their Laws and Histories in Verse,

* Vide Euseb.
Chron. Plutarch.
& Laert. in vit.
Philosop.

Verse, as the Geographer relates in this Manner. *Hi inter Hispaniæ populos sapientia putantur excellere, & Litterarum studiis utuntur, & memorandæ volumina vetustatis habent, vatum codices: Leges quoque versibus conscriptas à sex annorum millibus, ut aiunt.* As to the extravagant Date of the said Laws, reported by the *Turduli*, &c. the Author thinks it was a Mistake, viz. that the Thousands there were put for Hundreds. For he does not give it upon his own Knowledge, but therein refers to others, and especially to *Polybius*, * whom he prefers for several Reasons. Likewise the said Mistake might have been occasioned from this, that the first Reporters of that Account, being Foreigners, did not perhaps well understand the Language of the Natives, or the Manner of their Calculation and Writing: Or (to draw a greater Esteem upon those Laws) the Judges that had the Exposition of them, might have pretended, that they were of so great an Antiquity; so that in reason, that Expression ought not to be carried further, than that they were very Ancient, and exceeding the Memory of the present Age, as to the Commencement of 'em.

* The Geography of Polybius is lost.

But in the other Part of that Passage, which relates to the Histories of the *Turduli*, &c. *Strabo* is very careful not to give it any Date, even upon hearsay; for without doubt it received

ceiv'd new Additions from time to time, as the Feats or Actions of the said People requir'd it. This being the first mention'd by him, I'll begin with the Affinity it had to the ancient *Irish* History, which likewise was compiled in Verse, as may appear from the common Tradition of *Ireland*, and the Footsteps of that Custom, therein formerly established, still remaining, which are very considerable. But I cannot at present determine, whether this Province belong'd to the Historians themselves, or profess'd Poets, they being different in their Callings. However, I think it was the Property of the first by Right, because comprehended in the main Business of their Profession, and that these historical Poems were of a different Nature and Strain from the Performances of the others. For there was nothing laid in them but matter of Fact, viz. the Causes and Turns of War, (it being the chiefest Subject) the just Characters and Casualties of the great Men and Captains concern'd therein, the Events by Peace, Composition or otherwise, with the Losses or Acquisitions occasion'd thereby: And all this in as brief and conspicuous a Manner as might be. No other Writings were counted more Authentic than these, and the truth of 'em was never doubted of,

of, so that they pass'd for absolute Records. I have often met with Quotations from them in historical Tracts, to support the truth of such things, as otherwise might be controverted; but never saw more than one entire, and that bearing Date about the Year of Christ 940. It contains the bloody War of *Calachan* (nick-nam'd of *Casbel*, the chief Seat of that Principality) King of *Munster*, and *Leach Maagh*, or the Southern *Irish*; whereby, in seventeen Battels, he destroyed the Power of the heathen *Danes* within his Dependencies, and delivered *Cork*, *Lymrick*, *Waterford*, with many other Towns thereof from their Exactions, and put many thousands of 'em to the Sword; so that though, upon fresh Supplies of Forces come out of the North of *Germany* to them, they made a Head again, and obtain'd some footing after his Decease in the said Principality, yet the total Destruction of 'em was left easy by him to *Brian Boreamb*, another Prince of the Line of *Heber*, who afterwards came to the Regency of the said Province, and at length to the whole Kingdom. The said *Calaban* is (in the right Line)

* *Heber and Erimon were Brothers, and Spaniards too, who founded the Kingdom of the antient Scots, or Irish, in Ireland.*

great Ancestor to the noble Lord, the present Earl of *Clancarthy*; his Lordship being the Stock of that antient Tribe, and the three and twentieth in Descent from him; as another noble Lord, viz. the Earl of *Thomond*, in like manner represents the former, as Heir and Head of his Family.

The said Poem is intitl'd, *The Marches of Calahan Cassuil*; which being very Pithy and Concise, as comprehending only the main Particulars as aforesaid, has long Readings upon it, that take in all the Facts and Circumstances left out in the Text; which Method of commenting, I suppose, was always us'd upon Works of this Kind. Yet I am told, there are many other *Irish* Pieces of that sort still in Being: And the late Bishop *Stillingsfleet*, speaks of a Chronological Poem of the Kings of *Ireland*, written by one *Coeman*, in the, 11th Century. Mr. *O Flaherty* likewise writes of a like Piece, in his own Hands, made for *Malcolm*, (nick-nam'd *Ceanmore*) whom *Buchanan* calls *Milcolumbus II*, King of the *Scots* in *North Britain*, by the chief Historiographer of the Royal Family there, and presented to him upon his Accession to that Throne. 'Tis a Chronology of all his Predecessors of the *Scottish* Race in the said Kingdom, from the first Foundation of it,

Orig. sacr. in
proamio.

it, whereof he makes the Number but fifty two in all, varying therein from the said *Buchanan, Fordon, Boetius*, and the rest of the late Historians of that Country, both in the Names and Series of their Kings, and entirely excludes their first Line, in as much as he speaks not one Word of it: But which of 'em were in the right, perhaps the said Poem it self, and a little time, will clear, to the Satisfaction of such as love Truth, and are unbiass'd.

Being now come to the last publick Use Poetry had amongst the antient *Irish*, which was in exhibiting the Text of their Laws, I'll beg the Reader's Patience for a little, and then shall have done. There may be good Reasons assign'd for this Custom also, tho' the great Antiquity of it were Reason enough to justify the Practice, nothing being contain'd therein that was against the Dictates of God and Nature. For the Letter being once unalterably fix'd, (which has a Reference to the historical Poems also) the meaning of the Law, which is the Life of it, was not too difficult to be found out, or guess'd at, as otherwise it is, when Words or Syllables, might be easily ras'd away, and others foisted in, that would make it quite another thing. This could not be so much apprehended in the former Way, be-
cause

cause it resembled a Structure of certain Di-
 mensions, built of polish'd square Stones, well
 put together, and cemented, to which no
 Addition could be made, but what would
 immediately be perceiv'd, nor no Breach of
 it repair'd with common Stones, or any o-
 ther, but such as should come from the Hands
 of an able Artist. Then the Composition be-
 ing in Metre, it much help'd the Memory,
 and it was not at all inconvenient, that the
 Laws, being the sacred Bands of Society, and
 the Fences of the People, should be conceiv'd
 in such a Manner and Style, as of it
 self drew Veneration and Attention. The
 Proof of this Custom also to have been ob-
 serv'd by the ancient *Irish*, is the same with
 that urg'd for their History, viz. Tradition,
 and the Authority of their old Monuments,
 or Manuscripts, which acquaint us, that all
 along from the first coming of the said Peo-
 ple into *Ireland*, to the time of *Conchure*,
 commonly call'd *Connor*, Son of *Nessa* Prince
 of *Ulster*, who flourish'd little less than a
 hundred Years before the Birth of our Sa-
 viour, the Poets alone there had the Fo-
 rum, and Courts of Justice in their own
 Hands, as the ordinary Judges of the King-
 dom: which Custom was probably intro-
 duc'd, and establish'd in the said Country, up-

on this People's carrying it by Conquest, or otherwise, as aforesaid. For if their Laws were conceiv'd in Verse, which is very likely, even from the Instance already given of the metrical Laws, of that Part of Spain, they had next before liv'd in, the Poets of Course might have claim'd a Preference to construe or explain the same, and consequently to exercise that Jurisdiction.

Lib. 1. sub
initium.

Mr. O Flaberty, in his *Ogygia* is right enough, in relating the same thing out of old Manuscripts perus'd by himself: these are his Words in one Place;—*Ab Amergino usque ad Cornelium Nesselidem aliquanto ante Salvatoris ortum viventem, legum Oracula penes Poetas & Philosophos erant: Nam sic promiscue sumebantur.* But he is very wrong in observing soon afterwards in this Manner; *Cornelii tempore ut dixi, leges fixas Scripto præfiniri comperimus, cum eo usque non Scripto jure, sed Poetarum placitis judicia instruerentur.* For first, his own Expressions are inconsistent, because *legum Oracula* implies a written or standing Law already defin'd and settled in Being; which excludes *Placita*, viz. the arbitrary Resolutions of Judges, unless he meant it of the Exposition of the standing Laws, with relation to Cases, or the Construction the said Judges were pleas'd to put upon them; which must relate

relate to Laws in Being, and therefore cannot be well called *Placita*. Nor is it probable that the regular and nice Verse of the said *Amergin*, (who had been made Chief Justice in *Ireland*, upon the first settling the *Spanish* Government there by the above-named *Heber* and *Erimon* his own Brothers :) being a receiv'd Law in it self, was all along to the time aforesaid, viz. somewhat before our Saviour's Birth, not committed to Writing; when the Author brings it for an Argument against *Bollandus*, that the ancient *Irish* had the use of Letters, long before *St. Patrick*, the *British* Bishop's first coming there. I take it for granted, that Mr. O *Flaberty's* Notion in this Particular was right enough; and that the Inconsistency or Blunder, is owing to the imperfect manner of his Expression; it being in *Latin*, of which it does appear, he was no great Master: And that instead of saying, that the Laws of *Ireland* were not fix'd by Writing; he should have said, that the Judgments given thereupon with relation to Controversies, were not enter'd into Registers, and the same made Records and Precedents, fit to be produc'd in like Cases.

That this was the Point, I think (if I am not very much mistaken) I have as good Authority on my side, as the Author had, or as

otherwise can be brought, viz. a very old *Irish* Manuscript belonging to the Library of the noble Lord the Earl of Oxford, or the noble Lord *Harley*; to whom, both for their great Judgment in, and Expences by Purchasing a Multitude of most choice Books and Manuscripts, not only *Ireland*, but Great *Britain* also, is highly oblig'd. The said Manuscript handles the aforesaid Affair relating to the Jurisdiction of the Poets in *Ireland*, viz. shewing that it lasted from the Beginning of the Reign of the said *Habert* and *Ermon*, to the time of *Connon* aforesaid, when their Posterity were devested of it, (except in part of the North;) and that for these Reasons, viz. that no Hold could be laid on their Decisions in Civil Causes, because no body else could tell whether they were agreeable to Equity and Right, or the contrary. That they made too many Mysteries in things that should be plain and open to the World; and always took care to give their Resolutions in such dark and crabbed Terms, that the Exposition and Meaning of 'em must be sought for from themselves alone. This could not have been so much complain'd of, if the Judgments and Reasons thereof upon the Cases rightly stated, had been enter'd upon Rolls, or otherwise preserv'd for the use

use of the Public. It is there also said, that the Princes and Nobility of the Nation being conven'd upon that Occasion, did depose or lay-by the Poets for those Reasons, and put other Persons in their Places. The Historian goes farther, and gives the particular Names of many Judges, who then soon and afterwards became famous for the Equity and Justice of their Judgments in Matters of Law: Which Judgments remain'd on Record, and were useful to Posterity. These are the respective Names of the Judges, *viz.* *Rocho*, the Son of *Luchta*; *Fachna*, the Son of *Senebath*; *Meran*; *Eoghan* Son of *Durthast*; *Deot Nemhinne*; *Brig Anidur*; *Dan-chacht Oleg*.—And so was the Jurisdiction at length taken away from the Poets, and vested in others, that were more careful to acquit themselves well, by an equal Distribution of Justice; at least it must have been so for a considerable time afterwards. The ancient *Irish* Law, (as that of most Countries) is not a Daughter of Reason, however is agreeable to the Dictates of it; otherwise would cease to be a Law, or bind at all, and therefore (of its self) requir'd no more than a plain Dress, little Ceremony, and a quick Dispatch. But Avarice, and greediness of Gain, so perplex'd it with abstruse Forms, preliminary Jangles, and winding Courses, that instead of remedying

dying Grievances, it became a great one itself in the Practice; and that has occasion'd the Abolition or Change in the *Irish* Tribunals as aforesaid.

As to the said old *Irish* Manuscript, it contains in the main two elaborate Pieces, the first in Metre, and the second in distinct Articles or Paragraphs in Prose, (as far as I can remember) both perfected much about the same time, viz. the Year of our Lord 439, when *Patrick*, the pious *British* Bishop above-named, had converted to Christianity, most of the Princes and Nobility of that Kingdom, and became the Occasion of the said Work. For one of his Lay-attendants, by Name *Oram*, being without any Provocation slain by *Euna*, nick-nam'd *the Red*, General of the Horse to *Loere* or *Legaire*, the then supreme King of *Ireland*, a Complaint of the Murder was brought to the King; who immediately order'd it should be enquir'd into, and that thereupon Justice should be done to the said Prelate, for the loss of his Servant. This Enquiry, and the whole Affair, was by both Parties referred to *Dubtach*, the King's chief Poet, though a Convert to Christianity for some time before: Who accordingly having fully inform'd himself of the Fact and Circumstances, published his Award for a Mulct or Fine, which he comprehends in the said Poem;

Poem; the rest of it relates to Divinity, and Mysteries of the Christian Religion. There are large Notes, and Illustrations upon it, that are suitable to the Subject.

The second Piece comprehends the Resolutions of a Committee of nine, viz. three Princes, three Bishops, and three learned Antiquaries or Poets. The Prelates were *Patrick* himself, that promoted the Matter, *Beneny*, and *Carneach*. The Poets, *Dubtach* aforesaid, *Rossa* and *Daire*. The Princes, *Loere*, (but whether the King or not, I can't tell;) *Corc*, and *Feris*; or as the lowland Scots pronounce the Name, *Fergus*. Their Business was to purge or alter such of the standing Laws and Customs, as were not agreeable to Christianity, whereof there is a long Detail. The said Resolutions (as the Poem aforesaid) are in the large Hand, but the Reading upon them in a small Character. The Scholiast here (in the Preface) is pretty full upon the Word *Seanchas*; because the Title of the Piece it self implies a Regulation of it, and shews, that tho' it be a Word of some Latitude, yet properly, and in it's genuin Sense, it signifies only the usual Ways and Customs of the Ancients, as it is taken in the said Piece. But *Dr. Keating*, and other modern Antiquaries, took the said Word to signify *Chronology*; and therefore gave out, that the said Committee

mittee sat upon correcting that alone, which is quite wrong, if we may depend upon the Authority of the said Scholiast who seems to have been very well vers'd in the Dialects of the old *Irish* Tongue. The said Reading is very long, and takes in here and there curious Pieces of ancient History, now hardly to be met with elsewhere. His Grace the Duke of Chandos, also has several valuable Manuscripts in his Library relating to *Ireland*, in which Collection are the Annals of *Tiegnach*, the *Ulster Annals*, and the Life of *Columcille*, in *Irish*, much larger than that in *Latin* in the 7th Centry, written by *Adamnan*, one of his Successors in the Abby of *Hl*, on the West of *Scotland*. The said Volume contains some hundreds of antient *Irish* Poems of all sorts, and possibly some very choise ones, which being already impair'd by Time, will probably be much more so soon, and even lost, if Copies be not taken from them.

The Errata's in the Preface or Introduction.

Page 24. l. 25. for wonderfully read wonderful. p. 64. l. 20. for Governors, Governor. p. 75. l. 5. for Sir Giffrey, Giffrey. l. 6. for too, to. p. 86. l. 6. after *Brown* there should be a blank left. p. 96. l. 11. for this read the. p. 146. in the Margin for *Sanchoine*, *Sanchoine*. p. 147. l. 1. for a single read a. p. 148. l. 1. leave out he. p. 149. l. 18. for *barat*, *bavar*. p. 150. the 100 Notes in the Margin should be lower down. p. 187. for *Thomson*, *Thomson*.

M. E.



MEMOIRS

OF THE

Marquis of Clanricarde.

The Proceedings of the Treaty between the Duke of *Lorrain's* Ambassador, and me.

The Lord of Athenry, Sir Nicholas Plunket, Mr. Richard Bellings, and Mr. Geffry Browne, four of the Commissioners of Trust, their Letter unto me.

May it please your Excellency,



IN Consideration of ^{Four of the Commissioners of Trust upon Settlement of the} the Reasons given in ^{Peace.} Mr. *Bellings's* Letter,

we are of Opinion, that it may much conduce to the publick Service, if your Lordship cou'd repair to *Tyrellan* before your Journey to *Athlone*: conceiving that in

B

the

MEMOIRS of the

the management of the Matters, which come with the Person intrusted by the Duke of *Lorrain*, Advantages may be found for the speedy drawing of Forces into the Field, at the intended Rendezvous, continuing them in the Field; and very probably Grounds drawn out of those Proceedings, to settle a clear Obedience in the City of *Limerick*, and in this Town of *Gallway*. Thus humbly taking leave, we remain

Your Excellency's
most humble Servants.

Signed

Athenry.

Nicholas Plunket

Richard Bellings

Geffry Browne.

Gallway, 27th of
Febr. 1650.

Or Fort Falk-
land.

In my way to *Athlone*, having viewed and given Orders for the fortifying of all the Passages of the *Shannon*, on the County of *Gallway*'s side; I received this Letter at *New-fort*, (together with Mr. *Richard Bellings*'s, which Letter is lost;) containing many Arguments to persuade

persuade my repair to *Tyrellan*, before my going to *Athlone*, though I was so far in my Way: which prevail'd with me to consent to their Advice. Fa. *George Dillon*, having likewise by his Letter given me Notice of his Arrival, with the Duke of *Lorrain's* Ambassador; and his Desires to make his Addresses speedily to me, where I wou'd appoint: the Ambassador refusing to make his Application to any other, finding the King's Authority remaining here in me, which induced me to believe, *Tyrellan* the fittest Place for me to reside in for that Affair; though after, I wou'd have been glad, it had been at a greater Distance from *Gallway*, in regard of the tumultuous Proceedings, that followed there for a time.

After giving the Ambassador a publick Audience at *Tyrellan*; the same Day, Fa. *George* deliver'd me my Lord *Taaffe's* Letters to my Lord Lieutenant, which if he had given me sooner, or any Sight of such Proposals, I shou'd have better consider'd before I shou'd have given the said Ambassador such a Reception:

The 7th of
March.

*The Reader
will find them
after the Duke
of Lorrain's,
and the Lord
Traffe's Letters
next following.

but that being past, I sent for such of the Commissioners of Trust, and such of the Prelates, as were then in *Galloway*, to advise with them; and it was thought fit, in the first Place, to call upon *Fa. George*, as a Friend, and one that was probably acquainted with the Duke of *Lorrain's* Expectations, to inform us clearly what he conceived would be to the Duke's Satisfaction upon the affording us Aids and Supplies, for his Majesty's Service, and the Preservation of the Kingdom. Whereupon the next Day he deliver'd me the following Proposals, as fit to be offered to the Embassador.



His Highness the Duke of Lorrain's
Letter of the first of January.

*Excellentissimi, Reverendissimi, Illustrissimi-
que, Amplissimi, & Generosi Domini.*

ACceptis per illustrissimum Domi-
num Vicecomitem Taaffe, Ordini
num Vestrorum postulatis, cognitaque
inde Hibernici Regni calamitate, in-
gemui quidem, non sterili quodam aut
otioso dolore perculsus, sed commo-
tus vobis flagrantissimo opitulandi desi-
derio, & in id omnia, quæ in me sita sunt,
studiosissimè impendendi; quem ad co-
natum, ut multa me commovent, antiqua
videlicet gloriæ vestræ fama, gentis nobi-
litas, perspecta variis in bellis animi mag-
nitude, probata toties adversus Deum,
Regemque fides, cæteraque Regni cla-
rissimi illustria facinora, aut litteris con-
signata, aut recentibus argumentis ad
vestri nominis celebritatem, strenuissimè
B 3 testata;

testata: tum nihil vehementius impellit, quam ipsa tuendæ, & in libertatem vindicandæ, Religionis necessitas; cui omnia semper posthabenda constituto, sicut & me posthabiturum verissime judicatis. Quamobrem ut huic, quam de me concepistis opinioni, pari animo responderem; Reverendissimum ac Nobilissimum Stephanum de Henin, Abbatem à Sancta Catharina, à Consiliis nostris intimis, legatumque hac in parte meum, ad vos continuo mittendum putavi; tum qui meo nomine gratias vobis agat eximias, tum de iis quæ per prædictum illustrissimum Dominum Vicecomitem mihi vestro jussu proposita sunt, & à vobis insuper proponi poterant, ad inveniendas conservandi vestri rationes, aliisque quibuscunque, ad utilitatem Regni Hiberniæ spectantibus, cum legitima, quam ei ritè contuli, autoritate, pacificatur. Huic itaque ut plenam indubitatamque fidem habeatis, nec non meæ erga vos propensissimæ voluntati, magnoperè rogatos velim.

Datum

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

7

Datum Bruxellis primo Januarii, Anni
millesimi, sexcentesimi, quinquagesimi
primi.

Vestri amantissimus ac studiosissimus

D. C. Carolus.

*Excellentissimis, Reverendissimis,
Illustrissimisque, Amplissimis ac
Generosis Dominis in Hiber-
nici Regni Administratione
constitutis.*



B 4

Carolus



*Carolus Dei Gratia Lotharingæ Dux,
Marchisus, Dux Calabriae, Barri,
& Gueldriæ, Marchio Musipon-
tanus, & de Nomanny, Comes
Provinciae Vallimontis, Albimontis,
Zutphaniæ, Salmi, Saverdiæ, &c.
Reverendissimo, ac Nobilissimo,
Stephano de Henin, Abbati à Sancta
Catharina, nobis à Consiliis intimis,
nostroque ad Catholicos Hiberniæ
Ordines legato, Salutem.*

CUM nostrorum exempla majorum
insecuti, nihil Christiano Principi
honorificentius, aut tanti nominis clari-
tudine dignius unquam duxerimus (idq;
etiam facto sæpius testati sumus) quàm
periculosis amicorum temporibus sub-
venire, præsertim in causa propugnandæ
Religionis, quæ nobis ipsa vita charior
semper fuit, & in posterum (Deo dante)
futura est; ejusque rei capessendæ præ-
clara nobis, licet calamitosa sese offerat
occafio

occafio in præfenti rerum Hybernica-
rum ftatu, nos urgentiffimis Catholico-
rum Ordinum, qui nunc in Hibernici
Regni procuratione legitimè verfantur,
petitionibus, per illuſtriſſimum Domi-
num Vicecomitem Taaffe, delatis, annu-
entes. id enimvero ſumma nobis con-
tentione enitendum ftatuimus, ut & ar-
mis & opibus; & ſi opus fuerit, propria
capitis noſtri dimicatione, nobiliſſimæ
gentis ſaluti deſenſionique conſulamur:
quod ut ad foelicem exitum quantocius
(auſpicante Deo) perducī poſſit, te præ-
dictum Reverendiſſimum & Nobiliſſi-
mum Stephanum de Henin, Abbatem à
Sancta Catharina, pro ea, quam in te ſem-
per agnovimus erga nos fide, perſpecta-
que in rebus gerendis ſolertia, ac pecu-
liari in Religionem Catholicam addictio-
ne, legatum hac in parte noſtrum ad præ-
dictos Ordines mittendum decrevimus:
quemadmodum de facto mittimus, & de-
putamus; tibi que plenam, & omnimo-
dam cum iifdem Ordinibus agendi, tran-
ſigendi, contrahendique, & quæcunque
Pacta feriendi, poteſtatem, authoritatem-
que

que concessimus, ac vigore præsentium concedimus, de iis omnibus ac singulis, quæ ad præfati Regni defensionem, securitatem, salutem, commodumque, ac nostræ super eo voluntatis, quam notam tibi fecimus, executionem pertinere iudicaveris: ratum in posterum habituri, imò jam nunc habentes, quicquid nostro nomine, ac virtute præsentium, cum præ-nominatis Ordinibus egeris, transegeris, & contraxeris; non aliter, ac si de omnibus & singulis, quæ in conventionem veniant, speciatim hic mentio haberetur: in eumque finem & effectum, nostram & successorum nostrorum, fidem, cum omnium bonorum nostrorum præsentium & futurorum, obligatione, irrevocabiliter obstringimus. Quorum in testificationem, præsentis litteras nostras manu subscripsimus, ac secretiore nostro sigillo muniendas curavimus. Datum Bruxellis 31 Decembris, Anno millesimo, sexcentesimo, quinquagesimo.

D. C. Carolus.

L. S.

I. G. Goets.

The



The Lord Taaffe's Letter to the Lord
Lieutenant, 3 Januarii 1650.

May it please your Excellency,

I Were unworthy the Trust, repos'd in me, and the many other Favours, I receiv'd from you, shou'd I omit with all Freedom and Clearness, to afford your Excellency a true account of the Countries and Princes, from whom any thing was to be expected for the Supply of *Ireland*; whereby your Excellency may be the better able to resolve, what is to be done upon the Commission, sent by the Legate, employ'd by his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine*.

That I may the better do it, I shall set down, according to my Information and Observation, the Condition of his Majesty, and the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, in reference to the Parliament of *England*; so that it may appear what is to be expected from them for your Assistance,

sistance, towards the Maintenance of a War.

Your Excellency, I presume, knows that his Majesty, at his first coming into *Scotland*, was forc'd by those of the Kirk, to take the Covenant, and National League and Covenant; wherein amongst other things, he hath solemnly promis'd to extirpate the Catholick Religion and Prelacy, and to settle the Presbyterian Government in all his Kingdoms. The Kirk not content with this, put from him most of his Party, except the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Willmot*, and some few others, who they believed were Favourers of their Cause; after which, they forced his Majesty yet further to make a Declaration, wherein he doth, amongst other things, confirm his former Promise of rooting the Catholicks out of his Dominions, disannulls the Peace made with the *Irish*, and recalls all Commissions, granted to any amongst them. Soon after they lost a Battle; and a strong Party, under the Command of *Midleton*, declared for the

the King, and that he would receive, without Distinction, all Persons, that would assist in his Service. His Majesty, being displeas'd at the harsh Usage of the Council of State, attempted to have gone to *Midleton*; and being in his Way, a Discovery was made by some intrusted; whereupon Colonel *Montgomery* by Command pursu'd him, who overtaking of him, prevail'd with him to return to *Sterling*, where he is attended with strong Guards.

Your Excellency may perceive the little Hopes, that a Party so divided shou'd be able to afford us any Succours: and if they should prove victorious, and have Power to keep his Majesty in the same Awe, they now do; nothing but our Destruction is to be expected from them. The expectation of Assistance from *France*, is every whit as hopeless.

I have, during my Stay there, made Application to the Cardinal, which was strengthened by her Majesty's Recommendation, and could never by any Solicitation,

licitation, procure so much as the Promise of Supplies for the Publick; only some Overtures of Conditions for some particular Persons, in case they should bring Men to their Service: and even those also were so coldly prosecuted, that I perceived it was rather with Design to stay me from capitulating with the *Spaniards*, than any Intention of agreeing with me. Since my coming hither, they have treated with an Agent from the Parliament, and are dispatching Agents to them for the Continuance of a Peace; so as I believe they will be so far from affording us Relief, that if the Parliament insist upon it, they will deny Access to all *Irish* Ships to any of their Ports.

The *Spaniards* have yet gone farther; they have already concluded a League, which some say is Offensive and Defensive, with the Parliament; neither will they be drawn to break a Capitulation, so newly made with such useful Confederates, for any Interest of the King's, or the *Irish*. They have declared them a
State,

State, and as such are to receive an Embassador from them, who is daily expected in these Countries.

The Duke of Lorrain, when I first moved him by Letter, for concluding the Treaty set on foot by his Agent, he waved it; but my Uncle George Dillon, before my coming hither, made him incline to afford us Relief; and as soon as I intimated unto him the Condition of that Nation, he was pleased to advance five thousand Pounds for their Supply, upon such Conditions, as is exprest in the Assurance I gave him; a Copy whereof, and the Money, I sent by my Uncle George: and his Highness further promises, that if he be invited, and that the Command of that Kingdom (with Subordination to the King) be put into his Hands, he will employ his Men, Treasure, Shipping, and Person, in the reducing thereof; which your Lordship will see more clearly exprest by the Commission sent with his Legate, to treat, and conclude with that Nation.

Fr. George Dillon denied the having any such Conditions to produce.

I shall humbly offer my Sense to your Excellency, concerning this important Affair: I conceive the *Irish* are not able for any long time to preserve what they possess, much less recover what they have lost, without Foreign Assistance. And if the Parliament prevail, you will not only lose all Liberty and Fortune at present, but also want ground to hope for the Recovery of them; for if either Presbyterian or Independent prevail, their Animosity against us is equally violent: so as our King being not able to assist us, in order to his and our own Preservation; it is necessary we make our Recourse to the most probable means of Preservation.

His Highness upon all Occasions hath exprest a singular Affection to his Majesty, for the Advancement of his Interest, and therefore is not to be suspected to have any sinister Ends, not suitable to his former Proceedings. To conclude, that there is no Possibility of his Majesty's Subsistence in *Scotland*, but by continuing a War in *Ireland*, or recovering

ing of it, which, without Foreign Assistance, you are not able to do.

And no Prince of Christendom, is either willing or able, to afford (as things now stand) but the Duke of *Lorrain*; who besides the Men and Money, he intends to expend on the Land Service, will joyn a gallant Fleet to his Majesty's, who in all Probability will be Masters of the Sea: and resolves to engage so clearly, that no Distinction of Religion shall prejudice any honest Man, in Employment, or Fortune.

My Lord, I cannot but think it a great Blessing of God, upon that Kingdom, and by consequence on his Majesty, to have a powerful Prince, in this low Ebb of our Fortunes, engaged with us; who is able vigorously to prosecute the War (besides the Benefit of his own Conduct, wherein he is thought to exceed all Men) will employ such a Sum of Money, as no Prince of *Europe* hath, or can raise: and I am very hopeful he will be very instrumental in restoring his Majesty to his Rights, and render

der *Ireland* in a more splendid Condition of Honour, Wealth, and Trade, than it hath been of a long time.

I have here given your Excellency a clear Account of my Sense, touching the Duke of *Lorrain's* Resolution; and do humbly desire, that your Excellency will receive the Person employed by him, in the Quality of a stout, pious, discreet Gentleman; and what Commands your Excellency be pleased to impose on me, shall be with all Cheerfulness pursued by

*Your Excellency's most faithful
and humble Servant.*

*Brussels, the 3d of January
New Stile, 1650.*

Signed

Taaffe

~~THE LORD TAASSE'S LETTER TO THE LORD~~
The Lord *Taasse's* Letter to the Lord
Lieutenant, 5 January, 1650.

Brussels, the 5th of
January, 1650.

May it please your Excellency,

I Did not enter into a Treaty with the
Duke of *Lorrain*, without her Maje-
sty's Approbation, and Letters of Re-
commendation. It hath been debated,
what his Designs shou'd be, in engaging
so freely, in so expensive and hazardous
War; and concluded, that he consi-
der'd his own particular Interest, and
how far that did extend, we could but
guess: but admitted, that although he
did propose to be absolute in that King-
dom, that it was fit all Encouragement
should be given unto him to attempt it,
considering that the most powerful In-
struments he intends to make use of, are
the *Irish*; not having Followers of his
own, able to master us. And if at any
C 2 time

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time he shou'd attempt it, it's in our selves to prevent it; besides that, there is no Danger we can run by his Means, in any kind of degree, equal to that of the Parliament, whose Animosity against us is sufficiently visible.

It was in Debate, whether the King's Consent shou'd be demanded, in this Affair; and resolv'd, that, in the Condition the King is, 'tis neither safe for him to authorize it, nor own it: but an Express is sent unto him, to advertize him of the Matter; and his Connivance is all I expect or desire. I am now upon a Design of taking in the Isle of *Guernsey*, and have engag'd my Lord *Gerrald*, and *Daniel O Neile* in it; the Duke of *Lorrain* helps me to Shipping, Men, Provision, and all other Necessaries. I have purchased an indifferent Interest in his Highness, insomuch, as he trusts me with the providing and agreeing for Ships, and all manner of Ammunition and Arms.

If your Lordship keeps but Life in the Business of *Ireland*, and sends Encourage-

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

couragement to his Highness, I am confident (by God's Permission) we shall be all happy. My Lord, I am a Witness of your Courage, I have knowledge of your extraordinary Abilities, which make you capable of the greatest Employments; and am so great and just a Lover of your Person, as there lives not that Man, whose Honour and Prosperity, I wish more Happiness unto; and did I not think, that your consenting to the Duke of *Lorrain's* preceding you in Command, did contribute mainly to make you so, I should not advise it.

Happily, your own Inclination and the Advice of others, may prevail with your Excellency, to withdraw your self into some of these Countries. It is an Insolvency in me, (considering your own vast Judgment, able to direct you in the most intricate Affairs) to offer my Sense: But in regard of my Affection, I shall presume to tell you, how subject you will be to all manner of Inconveniencies. As for Employment, you will get none, worthy of you; as for Friends, you will

MEMOIRS of the

find none, but those that are poor; and as for Money, you may not expect any. I am a better Shifter, than your Excellency will ever be, and yet was like to starve at *Paris*, though every Person saluted me with *vostre tres humble Serviteur jusqu' à la mort*. Without fooling, there is no such Place to live in as *Ireland*. I pray, my Lord, continue me in your Favour, as the humblest of,

Your Excellency's Servants.

Signed

Taafe.

Father George Dillon's Proposals, on the behalf of the Duke of Lorrain, 8 Martii, 1651.

TO return Thanks to his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain*, for his Offers and Desires to preserve this Kingdom.

That

That his Highness (out of his Zeal to the Catholick *Roman* Religion, in imitation of his Predecessors, and through his singular Affection to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and for the Preservation of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and his Majesty's Interest therein) may be pleas'd to take into his Protection, the Confederates of the said Kingdom, and all such as will adhere unto them, and to free them from the Oppressions of the rebellious Sectaries of *England* and *Scotland*, that oppose his Majesty.

To the end, that his Highness may, with the greater Alacrity and Courage, undertake so great and heroick a Work; that his Heirs and Successors shall be accepted as Protectors and Preservers of the said Kingdom, with as large and ample Power, Fidelity, and Obedience, as by all Laws can be due to Protectors Royal.

That sufficient Caution, and Security, may be given unto his Highness, his Heirs, and Successors, for what Expences and Disbursements he will

make; and that therein the Cities and Ports of *Galloway* and *Lymerick* be engaged.

That his Highness be invited to come over in Person, and take the Protection of the Kingdom upon him; or if any Occasion retard, that he may send over such Supplies of Men and Money, as may probably recover the Kingdom.

That the Lord *Taafe* may have as ample Commission, to treat and conclude with his Highness, as his Highness's Ambassador hath to this Kingdom.

BEING much amazed to receive Proposals of such a nature, as were totally inconsistent with the King's Authority, to whom the Ambassador had made Application, with the greatest Expressions possible of the Duke's clear and real Affections to assist his Majesty for the recovery of his Kingdom; and observing the earnest Expectations generally, to be relieved by those Supplies, much enlarged by Reports; and considering

sidering further, in case of Disagreement, how apt they would be to charge me with betraying of them, and that Relief might have been had upon easy Terms, if I had not willingly oppos'd: in this Exigency, finding it impossible for me to come any thing near to such Demands, I held best to bring the whole Matter under a publick Treaty, by Advice of those I formerly called together; with several Prelates, and other Persons of Quality, flocking into *Gallway*, upon Report of this Embassador's Arrival: conceiving, that either they would joyn with me in Opinion, that these Demands were unreasonable, which might take off the Blame from me; or if it happened otherwise, I should receive a publick Satisfaction, that those Proposals, and the King's Authority, could not stand together, and therefore impossible for me to condescend unto.

Pro-

Proposals from the Prelates and Commissioners, concerning a Treaty with the Duke of Lorrain's Embassadors, the ninth of March, 1650.

The Consideration of these Proposals, and how to order the Treaty, took up two Days Debate with the Commissioners of Trust, some of the Prelates, and my self.

WE humbly represent unto your Excellency, our Sense in that Affair now come before you, by the Overture made by the Duke of Lorrain; having taken into Consideration the evident Danger the Nation is in at present, that in order to the Preservation of the Catholick Religion in Ireland, and of his Majesty, and his good Subjects Interests, there is an absolute Necessity to find some other way of Preservation, other than what the Nation can do of it self; seeing his Majesty is not in Condition to help them, nor free Access had, or Application can be made to him: We therefore think fit, that if by Conference or Treaty with the Duke

Duke of *Lorrain* his Agent, it be found necessary, and that the present Negotiation cannot otherwise take effect, for the Kingdom's Preservation; that the ensuing Particulars be assented unto, in the behalf of his Majesty's loyal Subjects in this Nation.

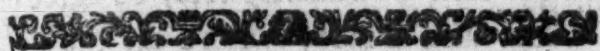
That his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain*, willing to assist this Nation, out of his Zeal to the Catholick Religion, and his Desire to preserve, for his Majesty of *Great Britain* his Interest in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, both now in Danger to be lost, by the Power of such of the Rebels of *England*, as are in Arms against his Majesty, may be fought unto for Conservation of both; to take into his Protection his Majesty's loyal Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and to afford such Aids, as may probably serve to rescue the Catholick Religion, and his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom, from the Oppression and Power of the said Rebels: Yet so, as the Acceptance of his Highness, as Protector and Preserver of the said Kingdom, be so taken
and

and understood, as no way to tend to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Right or Interest in this Kingdom, or to the Interruption of his Majesty's Government over the People of this Nation.

That the Aids, either in Money, Men, Arms, and Ammunition, and Shipping, necessary for preserving the Kingdom, being ascertained now; sufficient Caution and Security be given to his Highness, his Heirs, and Successors, for what Expences and Disbursements he will make; and therein the Cities and Ports of *Gallway* and *Lymerick* be engag'd; still preserving the Liberties and Properties of the said Corporations, and of the Inhabitants thereof.

And the whole Nation to be likewise obliged, with the said Cities, Towns and Ports, for discharging the said Expences and Disbursements.

To



*To our well-beloved the Lords Arch-
bishops of Dublin and Tuam, and
the rest of the Prelates and Com-
missioners of Trust in Gallway.*

After our Hearty Commendations; The 12th of
March, 1650.
the Prelates and those of the
Commissioners intrusted, in pursuance
of the Articles of Peace, now present,
having represented unto us, how useful
it might be to his Majesty's Service,
and the good of the Kingdom, that
your Lordships, and the rest of the
Prelates and Noblemen, together with
the Agents of the City of *Lymerick*
and the Town of *Gallway*, and other in-
terested and estated Men in the Coun-
try, who may be readily drawn toge-
ther; should have a Conference, concer-
ning such Affairs, as are to be agitated
with the Duke of *Lorrain's* Embassa-
dor: We have thought fit hereby to
pray, and Authorize your Lordships,
and

and the said Commissioners, to agree of a Time and Place, where all the Prelates and Noblemen in the Town, and such others as you shall think fit to convene, and all other Persons whose Prefence shall be thought necessary, may meet, to debate of that Negotiation and Overture, and to return unto us the result of that Communication, together with your Sense thereupon. And so we bid you heartily farewell, and Remain at Tyrellan, the 12th of March, 1650,

Your very loving Friend.

Signed

Clanricarde.

To

To our well-beloved the Lords Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, the Lord President of Conaught, and the rest of the Commissioners of Trust, to be imparted unto the Prelates, and the rest of the Nobility and Gentry convened at Galway, these.

After our hearty Commendations; *The 18th of March, 1650.*
having, by our Letters of the 12th of this Month, authorized the Prelates and Commissioners of Trust, to assemble such others of the Nobility and Persons of Quality as were in the Town of *Galway*, to give us their Advice, in a Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain's* Ambassador, in such Manner as might best carry on his Majesty's Service, and our own Preservation; and having since, with great Patience, and much to the hazard of the Kingdom, expected such Advices from you, as might give a good
and

and speedy Conclusion to the Treaty, and did at the same time appoint a select Committee, to treat with the said Embassador: We now find, contrary to our Expectation, that you have received from the Embassador a Paper of Proposals, wherein are contained Matters of a very high and transcendent Nature; and instead of sending them immediately unto us (as we had reason to expect) that they are proceeded upon in a dilatory Way; rather, by what we can observe, to contract them into a narrower Compass, or cover them in better Language, than to give a fit and speedy Determination to the Treaty: That, without our Authority, the Committee appointed by us hath been altered, and others chosen; which we may not admit of, without our Consent first had, nor also of any thing that hath been treated by them. And likewise, that several sorts of People are admitted to your Debates, whom we cannot hold fit Persons to advise us in Matters of so high Concernment. We are also induced

induced to believe, that the said Embassador hath been either misunderstood, or that some ill-affected Persons have made him believe, that you now assembled there have Power from the Kingdom, to dispose of it at your Election, and that the King's Authority is not over you; otherwise I might think it very impossible that the Embassador of *Lorraine*, having in his Master's Name made his Addresses unto us, with such great Expressions of singular Affection to his Majesty, and desir'd to assist him for the Recovery of his Kingdoms, should make Overtures that positively overthrew his Government and Authority here, and that in Perpetuity: Neither can we believe that the Lord Viscount *Taaffe*, a Person of Loyalty and Integrity to the King, would either recommend, or Fa. *George Dillon* accompany over, any Person, that should propose or insist upon Matters of such a Nature, if they had understood or believed that the King's Authority was remaining here. And the better and more fully to inform you,

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and

and clear that Point, we desire that all those that are learned in the Law amongst you declare their Knowledge, whether the King alone, if he would command us; or the Nation alone, if they were all assembled here, can transferr the Kingdom unto any Foreign Power, and to their Heirs and Successors. To this may probably be alledged, that common Objection of Invincible Necessity, and the Impossibility of preserving our selves in the Condition we are in, without Foreign Assistance: To which we answer, That though we cannot allow, that any Necessity can justify our Consent to those Proposals, and that we do admit, that in the Condition the Enemy is in, and we are in, there is not much Probability that we can defend or preserve our selves without Foreign Aids; yet withal we must let you know, that we see no cause to despair, but that there may be great Revolutions in *England* and *Scotland*, and are confident they are already prosperously begun, and that the Enemy here may be called away

away, or divided amongst themselves, and some of them appearing for us; which we speak more than upon ordinary Conjectures. We see no cause to despair, but that plentiful Aids and Assistance, in as large a Proportion, and more safe and honourable Terms, may speedily come unto us from several Princes, and are assured, that they are in Agitation, if not upon their Way; and that the face of Affairs are very much changed abroad, by the Release and Employment in the Government in *France* of the Prince of *Condé*, and several other Princes, since the third and fifth of *January* last, the Dates of the Lord *Taaffe's* Letters: neither do we see any cause to doubt, but that the Duke of *Lorrain*, a Prince of that great Wisdom, good Affections, and Alliance to the King, and the Embassador here said to be a Person of Ability and Integrity; will not afford us Assistance upon such Proposals as we have made unto him, if he be not guided and deluded by some dissuasive and ill-affected Persons: the which

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Proposals we send herein inclosed, to be agitated and treated of with the Embassador, by the Committee formerly appointed by us, only adding unto them our very good Lord, the Lord President of Conaught: And so we bid you heartily farewell, and remain at Tyrellan, the 18th. of March, 1650,

Your very loving Friend.

Signed

Clanricarde.



Instructions for the Committee.

Tyrellan 18
Martii, 1650.

THAT if the *Lorrain* Embassador, according to the Professions he hath made of his Master the Duke of *Lorrain's* sincere Affection to our Master the King of *Great Britain*, will advance a considerable Sum at present, as may enable us to set an Army into the Field, for his Majesty's Service, and Preservation of what is left of the Kingdom until further Supplies come; we will ad-

venture

venture to give, in his Majesty's behalf, such cautionary Towns and Garrisons as have been already offered.

That for what further may be sought, or held necessary for the Duke of *Lorrain* his Satisfaction, we having no Letters or Encouragement from his Majesty, or from the Queen, or the Duke of *York*, or from any his Majesty's Ministers abroad, who may best know his Pleasure in those great Affairs; cannot adventure to conclude here on the Place: but on acceptance of the above Proposals by his Highness's Ambassador, we will send some Person or Persons of Trust, Honour and Interest, to joyn in Commission with the Lord Viscount *Taaffe*, and so represent the present Condition of this Kingdom.

That upon such Treaty abroad, and Consideration had of such Motives, the Person or Persons by us to be employed will offer, we doubt not Matters will be concluded there in such Manner, as may best conduce to the Preservation of the *Roman* Catholick Religion in this

D 3 Kingdom

Kingdom, the King my Master's Service, the Safety of the Nation, and his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine's* Satisfaction, Invitation and Encouragement, to afford further Aid and Supplies according to the Professions made, and as may best agree with the Amity and Honour of both our Masters.

We are informed, that his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine's* Embassador being treated with, to afford Aid of Shipping and further Supplies, to be sent hither by the last of *May*; he lets the Persons treating with him know, that he hath no Power from his Highness to conclude on the Place here for those further Supplies: But offers that some Persons be imployed from hence, that may treat and conclude Abroad, what may concern those further Supplies. And therefore in Matters of so high Concernment, we may justly expect, that what is sought in his Highness's Behalf from us here, may be referred to receive their Determination there together; seeing the very same Reasons

that

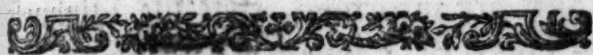
Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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that induce his Ambassador not to conclude here, are our Grounds also, and the same Reasons not to conclude the Matters finally here at present on his Majesty's behalf.

Signed

Clanricarde,



The Return of the Committee, upon their treating with the Ambassador, according to my Instructions.

WE having proceeded with the *Lorrain* Ambassador, according to his Excellency's Instructions in writing, dated as above, the Effects of his Answer was; that he was contented the Treaty should take its final Effect, and be negotiated at *Brussels*, before his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain*, and such Commissioners as from this Kingdom will be employed; and that therein he would, for his Part, perform all good Offices in his Power, for the good

The 19th of March.

of this Nation; and was hopeful, that very soon, we should have a Return of the Effects of that Treaty: And notwithstanding the Caution, and Towns offered, he could not at present part with any Supplies here, upon a Treaty that received no further Perfection.

Dillon.

Downe.

Killmacduagh.

Lucas Dillon.

Nicholas Plunkett.

Geffry Browne.



The Lord Archbishop of Tuam's Letter to me, 21 Martii, 1650.

May it please your Excellency,

THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Gentry, now assembled at *Gallway*, convened by your Excellency's Authority, having taken into Consideration the present Condition of this Kingdom, and the Overtures made by his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain's* Embassa-

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Embassador, do humbly declare their unanimous Sense, that they know no visible Way or Means at present, for the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, his Majesty's Rights and Interests, and the Lives, Fortunes and Estates of his Loyal Subjects, in this Kingdom, but by proceeding and concluding with the said Embassador. And whereas upon the Treaty with the said Embassador, he could not be won to agree but upon the following Articles; we are of Opinion, sooner than break with him, that he be agreed with, according to the said Articles, with such further Qualification of his Demands, as he shall be induced to agree unto; protesting notwithstanding, that we do and shall continue in our Affections and Actions, his Majesty's faithful and loyal Subjects, being necessitated to deliver this Sense, as seeing no other way of Preservation.

That his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine*, out of his Zeal to the Advancement of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, and

Articles agreed upon.

and the Splendor thereof, in Imitation of his Predecessors, and through his singular Affection to his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and for the Preservation of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and his Majesty's and the Peoples Interest therein, shall take into his Protection the People and Kingdom of *Ireland*, and those who will adhere unto them; and shall endeavour, by all possible means, to free them from the Pressures of the rebellious Sectaries, who oppose his Majesty and his Authority in any of his Dominions; as also to preserve, and recover the Interest of his Majesty's loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, against and from the Power of their Enemies. And his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain*, and his Heirs and Successors, being *Roman Catholics*, is and are hereby accepted, as Protectors of the said Kingdom, and People thereof, with as large and ample Power, Fidelity and Obedience, as by all Laws are due to Protectors Royal; saving the just Rights of his Majesty, and the Estates, Franchizes, Immunity, Liberty, Privileges, Lands,

Lands, Properties and Possessions of his Majesty's loyal Subjects of this Kingdom: and that his Highness, during his Residence in this Kingdom, shall have none his Superior; and he shall precede all and every the King's Majesty's Subjects, and have Power in such Manner, and with such Qualification, as is expressed in these Articles.

That when his Highness comes to this Kingdom, he shall have the whole Government and Command of the Militia thereof, until Repayment be made unto him of his Disbursements for the Kingdom, as they shall be ascertained. Provided always that his said Highness, in what concerneth the Civil Government, shall not depose or interrupt any Governor or Governors, by the King or Kingdom appointed, or to be appointed in this Kingdom, nor appoint or constitute any Governor or Governors therein; and that his Highness shall not issue any Citations or Commissions, or shall not give any Judgment, nor receive Appeals, but shall leave their Mat-
ters

ters to be managed according to the Laws and Customs of this Kingdom.

Provided also, that his Highness shall not alter any thing in the Manner of the Government of this Kingdom, but will permit the Subjects and Inhabitants thereof to be governed according to the Laws and Customs of this Kingdom, and the Rights, Privileges, and Immunities of the Subjects thereof.

That his Highness shall make no Truce, Peace, or any other Agreement with the Enemies of the King, and this Kingdom, without the Consent of the Governor or Governors, and the General Assembly of this Kingdom: And the said Governor or Governors, and General Assembly, or either of them, shall not make any Truce, Peace or Agreement with the said Enemy, without his Highness's Consent.

That the Power of convoking the General Assembly, shall be and continue in his Majesty's Governor or Governors of this Kingdom: Notwithstanding, if his Highness shall find Abuses worthy

worthy of Reformation to happen, which may prejudice the Kingdom, or his Majesty's Service, that upon Intimation of his Highness's Pleasure, a General Assembly shall be call'd for. That if, by God's Grace, this Kingdom shall be recovered by his Highness, that his Highness will endeavour the Restoration of the Royal Rights to his Majesty, in the rest of his Dominions, joyntly with the Nation, if it shall so please the General Assembly. That to supply the present Necessity of the Kingdom, twenty thousand Pounds, including the six thousand Pounds already received by *Fa. George Dillon*, for the Use of the Kingdom, be paid unto ———

And that his Highness shall give such further Supplies of Money, Arms, Corn and Ammunition, Shipping, and other Furnitures of War, expert Commanders of old Soldiers Horse and Foot, Engineers, and other skillful Artificers, as shall be necessary for the Support of the Wars; according and in such Manner as those who are now to be employed

ployed to his Highness from this Kingdom, shall represent unto him.

That his Highness shall in Person come into this Kingdom, with as much convenient Speed, as may stand with his Highness's other important Affairs: That for the Repayment of such Monies as his Highness shall give, for the Support of the Wars of this Kingdom; as the same shall be ascertained by those now to be employed unto him, the Ports of *Limerick*, *Gallway* and *Slygoe*, and the Castle of *Athlone*, shall be engaged unto his Highness; and the whole Nation is likewise to be obliged, together with the said City, Town and Forts, for the discharge of his Highness's said Expences and Disbursements. And when the City of *Waterford*, and his Majesty's Fort of *Duncannon*, shall be recovered from the Enemy, they shall be likewise obliged as further Cautions, for the Payment of the said Money.

By Command of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights and Gentry now convened at Gallway.

21st of March,
1650.

Signed
Job. Archiep. Tuamen'



To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights and Gentry now convened at Gallway.

AFTER our hearty Commendations: *The 22^d of March, 1650.*
We have received from you Yesterday, the enclosed Paper of Proposals, with Advices thereupon, directed unto us, concerning the Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Embassador, and signed by the Lord Archbishop of *Tuam*, and affirmed to be the unanimous Sense of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights and Gentlemen now convened in *Gallway*; and likewise further express'd therein, that the said Embassador upon the Treaty, could not be won to agree, but upon the said Proposals drawn up into Articles in the said Paper; and sooner than break, were of Opinion, he should be agreed with according to the said Articles, with such further Qualifications of his

his Demands, as he should be induced to agree upon.

This Letter produced the Effects I expected; there being none that would particularly own this Advice under their Hand.

The Ambassador did likewise decline to set any such thing under his Hand.

All which having taken into our Consideration, and in regard the said Meeting hath not the Power, nor beareth the Reputation of a General Assembly, by which it might be known to be the unanimous Sense of the Kingdom; and that therefore it will not appear, upon Record, more than the General Words, by whom we have been advised in Matters of so high Concernment to his Majesty, the Kingdom, and to us in the Trusts repos'd in us; before we descend to give Answer to the said Proposals, we hold it a necessary Duty in us to expect and desire, that all such as have been said to have given their Sense, may sign the said Paper of Proposals and Advice; and that the former Committee appointed by us to treat with the said Ambassador, may repair unto him to have it set under his Hand; that he will not agree upon any less Terms, than is expressed in the said Paper; or if he will admit of any Qualifications, that they

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

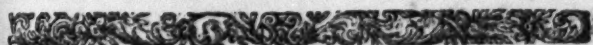
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they may be reduced to a Certainty under the said Embassador's Hand: and this being performed according to what is above exprest, and the same transmitted to us, we will forthwith give you a full and final Resolution upon the whole Matter under our Hand. And so we bid you farewell, and remain at *Tyrellan*, the 22d of *March*, 1650,

Your affectionate Friend.

Signed

Clanricarde.



The Lord Archbishop of Tuam, by Command of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Knights and Gentry now convened in Galway: dated 26 Martii, 1651.

May it please your Excellency,

THE Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Gentry now assembled at *Gallway*, convened by your Excellency's

lency's Authority, having taken into Consideration the present Condition of this Kingdom, and the Overtures made by his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ambassador, do humbly declare their unanimous Sense; That they know no visible Way or Means at present, for Preservation of the Catholick Religion, his Majesty's Rights and Interests, and the Lives, Fortunes and Estates of his loyal Subjects in this Kingdom, but by proceeding and concluding with the said Ambassador: And whereas upon the Treaty with the said Ambassador, he could not be won to agree, but upon the following Articles; we are of Opinion, sooner than break with him, that he be agreed with according to his said Articles; protesting notwithstanding that we do and shall continue, in our Affections and Actions, his Majesty's faithful and loyal Subjects; being necessitated to deliver this Sense, as seeing no other way of Preservation:

That his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine*, his Heirs and Successors, be accepted

and acknowledged by the Kingdom of Ireland, for their true and royal Protector, and be received in that Quality, with such Advantages, Honors, Fidelity and Obedience, which of right are due to a Protector Royal; (*salvis prerogativis Domini Regis in ordin' ad subditos*) and in such Manner, and with such Qualifications, as in these Articles are expressed.

That his Highness shall endeavour, by all possible Means, to free this Nation from the Pressures of the Rebellious Sectaries, who oppose his Majesty and his Authority in this Kingdom; as also to preserve and recover the Interests of his Majesty's loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, against and from the Power of their Enemies: And it is provided, and to be understood, that his Highness shall not introduce in this Kingdom, or in any cautionary Places hereafter-mentioned, any Alteration or Change, in or against the Liberties, Privileges, Immunities, Franchises, Proprieties, Goods, Lands or Estates, nor the fundamental Laws

of the Realm; but to leave all those to be enjoyed as formerly by his Majesty's faithful Subjects.

And it is also declared and provided, that the Administration of Justice, touching Civil Affairs, be managed and proceeded in, according to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, without innovating any thing in the Form, nor in the Government lawfully established by his Majesty, the Government or Assembly of the Kingdom.

That the calling of the General Assembly of the Nation together, be according as was heretofore accustomed; yet nevertheless, if it should happen that any Complaint be offered against the Government, or that any Affairs should occur of great Consequence to occasion it; that it be lawful for his Highness to cause it to be called, first admonishing the Lord Deputy, or such as are or shall be authorized or intrusted in the Government of the Kingdom.

That if God please to prosper his Highness, and the Kingdom's Forces

and

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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and the General Assembly of this Kingdom judge it fit and convenient to join with his Majesty's Forces, to reduce the Sectaries and Rebels in his Dominions, opposing his Majesty or the Interest of his faithful Subjects of this Kingdom; his Highness doth declare he will give his Furtherance and Consent thereunto, and assist to his Power.

That if the Necessity of his Highness's Affairs compel him to defer his coming to this Kingdom for any time, he may depute (during his Absence) such Catholick Persons as to him shall seem fit, that may command the Forces in this Kingdom; and may assist in his Name, as one of the Council Politick and Civil, that will attend here, with the same Power as other Councillors established or to be established by his Majesty, his Governor, or such as shall be authorized and instructed in the Government of this Kingdom.

That the Towns and Hereditaments to be taken from the Enemy, be restored to the former Proprietors, conti-

ning in his Majesty's Obedience; reserving notwithstanding Power to his Highness, to establish such Garrisons which he will judge necessary for the Ease and Security of the Nation, and to do the like in all other Places where it shall be necessary; which Garrisons are to be at his Highness's Charge, and to be repay'd for it; and that the Enemies and Delinquents Estates, shall be disposed of towards the Repayment of his Highness, or Maintenance of the War.

That for the affording present Relief to the urgent Necessities of the Kingdom, while the further and particular Supplies that are to be treated for and agreed on with his Highness by the Agents from the Nation are expected, twenty thousand Pounds Sterling is to be now issued, including as part thereof six thousand Pounds already delivered to *Fa. George Dillon*; and that his Highness shall give such Supplies of Money Arms, Shipping and other Furniture of War, as shall be necessary and sufficient for the Support of the War, and the Re-

cover

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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covery of the Kingdom for his Majesty, and his loyal Subjects of this Kingdom.

That all the Nation in general be obliged to his Highness, as well for the Principal, as for the Interest of the Monies, which his Highness will issue for defraying the Charges of the War in recovering of this Kingdom, until his Highness be reimbursed; and that also the Towns of *Galwey*, *Limerick*, the Town and Castle of *Athlone*, the Castle of *Clare* in *Thomond*, with the City of *Waterford*, and the Fort royal of *Duncannon*, (if those be recovered;) are to be and remain in his Highness and his Successors Hands, until he be satisfied and reimbursed of the Principal and Interest of all such Sums of Money and Interest thereof, as is before expressed; always intending that the said Towns, Fort and Castle, be ready and obedient to receive such Forces into Garrison, as shall be appointed on the Part of the Duke; and therein to obey his Highness's Orders with all Fidelity to him due by Vertue of this present

E 4

Treaty;

Treaty: Provided that when his Highness is to be reimbursed of his Expences and Interest, that the Estates of particular Men, then, and not otherwise, may be charged with their Proportion of the said Money, by an equal Opplotment to be imposed by the General Assembly of this Kingdom; and the Agents now to be employed to his Highness, are to be entrusted to offer a Course for ascertaining and keeping an Account of his Highness's Disbursements for this Kingdom.

That his Highness shall not conclude any Truce, Cessation or Peace with the Rebels opposing his Majesty's Authority, or the Interest of this Kingdom, without the Allowance of the Lord Deputy or General Assembly; nor they to conclude any Cessation, Truce or Peace without the Allowance and Consent of his Highness.

May it please your Excellency,

The Sense we have of the evident Destruction of the Nation, and the visible

ble Danger the Catholick Religion, his Majesty's Interests, and the Peoples Lives and Fortunes are in, by the Power of an implacable Enemy, that have resolved to extirpate us and our Religion, and to extinguish his Majesty's Rights and royal Authority, induced us to be of this Opinion; having no Inclination to bring in any Foreign Power, if your Excellency can make it appear unto us, that there is any other way of Preservation for the Catholick Religion, his Majesty's Right and Interest, and the Lives, Fortunes and Estates of his Faithful Subjects.

*Dated 26
Martii, 1651.*



My

My verbal Answer to his Highness the Duke of Lorrain's Ambassador, who desired to take his Leave of me before I parted from Tyrellan, the 26th of March 1651, given to Fa. George Dillon, and the next Day sent him in writing, after receiving his last Proposals.

He sent his Propositions under that Title, to those then convened at Gallway, but excused it afterwards; pretending the Ignorance of a Stranger, what proper Attributes so give them.

THAT I cannot expect or admit of any such Offers of Civility from a Person that hath put such Affronts upon, and done such Injuries unto the King my Master's Honour and Interests, by the Proposals lately given in, and affirmed by him to be his final Resolution, and what he would positively insist upon; when both the Proposals in themselves, and his Addresses to the Orders and Estates General of the Kingdom, doth decline the King's Authority in present, after Knowledge that it was settled here, and Application made to it

it in his Majesty's behalf; but seems to aim at the settling of a free State here in future, under his Master's Royal Protection.

That being most confident, it was far from the Duke his Master's Instructions or Intention to treat or proceed in any such Way; being so near and friendly an Ally unto the King my Master; and having upon several Occasions given great Testimonies of his good Affections to him; I would, by Expresses of mine own, represent the whole Proceedings both unto his Majesty and his Master the Duke of *Lorrain*; that for what Prejudice or Misfortune may happen by any Miscarriage in either of us, it may clearly appear to both our Masters where to lay the Blame and Imputation; I having, as I conceive, made very fair Proposals, and he seeming positively to insist upon his last Proposals, which I apprehend are destructive to the King my Master's Interest.

My



*My Letter to Fa. George Dillon,
26 Martii, 1651.*

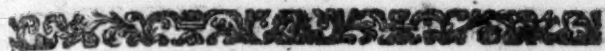
After our hearty Commendations:
We have sent here inclosed in
writing what last Night we delivered
you by Word of Mouth, to be imparted
to his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain's*
Embassador; that all Matters may be laid
so clear between us, as our Masters, upon
any Event, may with the less Difficulty
have whereupon to ground a Judgment:
And so we bid you farewel, and remain
at *Tyrellan*, the 26th of *March*, 1651,

Your very loving Friend.

Signed

Clanricarde.

To



To the Lords Archbishops of Dublin
and Tuam, and the rest of the
Prelates and Commissioners, in-
trusted in pursuance of the Arti-
cles of Peace, now at Gallway,
These: 26 Martii, 1651.

After our hearty Commendations:
Having perused and considered
the last Proposals delivered in by
the Duke of Lorrain's Embassador,
and by him affirmed to be such as
he would positively insist upon; I held
it my Duty to his Majesty, when such
high Attempts were made upon his Ho-
nour and Interest, to send this inclosed An-
swer to him the last Night by Fa. *George
Dillon*, before my Departure from the
Place, where I have so long attended in
vain, expecting such good Effects of
his Embassy, as might advance the King's
Service, preserve the Catholick Religi-
on and this Nation, and give a right
Testimony

Testimony of the Duke of *Lorraine's* good Affections to his Majesty. Thus much you may impart unto such others of Quality now in Town as you think fit; and afterwards it will be necessary that your selves repair unto us, that we may consult of the present State of Affairs some time this Afternoon; having to that end stayed our Journey until to-morrow Morning: And so we bid you farewell, and remain at *Tyrellan*, the 26th of *March*, 1651,

Your Lordships

very affectionate Friend.

Signed

Clanricarde.

To

~~THE MARQUIS OF CLANRICARDE~~

To the Lords Archbishops of Dublin
and Tuam, and the rest of the Pre-
lates and Commissioners intrusted in
pursuance of the Articles of Peace,
now at Gallway, These: 27 Martii,
1651.

After our hearty Commendations:
We have considered of the Pa-
per which you delivered unto us Yester-
day, containing Proposals of the Duke
of Lorrain's Embassador, with your
Opinions thereupon; and we cannot
discern any such material Difference or
Qualification from his former Paper, as
might give us the least Ground or Co-
lour to vary from our former Resolu-
tion, sent to the said Embassador by Fa.
George Dillon; or from now declaring
that it appears manifest unto us, that
those Proposals are inconsistent with the
King's Authority in present, and de-
structive to his future Interests, and oppo-
site

sitie to the Liberty of the Subjects; which neither we by the King's Authority, nor you now convened together at *Gallway*, can deprive them of, but by a General Concurrence of the King and Nation, or such as his Majesty shall authorize to act therein: And that we are further of Opinion, that if the said Embassador should be persuaded to wave those other Proposals that intrench far upon the King's Authority and the People's Loyalty; that single Proposal of lending Monies upon those Uncertainties, and such Security and Interest in the Manner as it is there set forth, doth engage the Kingdom beyond any probability of Redemption, or returning under his Majesty's Government and Protection: So that upon Consideration of the whole Matter, we may not, without breach of Trust in Matters of highest Concernment, proceed further in any material Addition unto our former Proposals of the 18th, which certainly must be acknowledged by all to be most equal and just, and most agreeable to the Professions



essions of Amity, and to the Honour and Interest both of his Majesty and the Duke of *Lorrain*; and we are hopeful, by your Diligence and Industry used therein, that the said Ambassador will be persuaded to accept of those Offers, which will perfectly unite us, to his Master's great Honour and Advantage, oblige his Majesty in a very high Measure, and be a happy Instrument in preserving the Catholick Religion and Nation. Thus much we have thought fit to signify unto you, before our Departure towards *Athlone*; where, as we shall employ our whole Endeavours to divert the Enemy's Intentions to pass the *Shannon*, and thereby give you some respite to make necessary Provision for the Army; so you must expect from us, that unless we shall be furnished by those ordinary means of Levies, which upon Pretence of this Treaty have been hitherto interrupted; we cannot but expect that the Enemy will force a Passage over the *Shannon*, for want of any probable Way of keeping the Forces
F. together:

together. And so we bid you farewell,
and remain at *Tyrellan*, the 27th of
March, 1651,

Your very loving Friend.

Signed

Clanricarde.

The Prelates, upon Receipt of my last Letter, taking into Consideration the desperate Condition of the Kingdom, and that it would be immediately lost if the Treaty ended in a Breach, and the Supplies not had; and that it was not possible for me to condescend to any such Proposals, or to vary from my former Resolutions in what I had offer'd to the Embassador; they all went to the Embassador: and whether upon my Messages formerly sent him by *Fa. George Dillon*, or their Persuasions, he was wrought upon to agree to my first Proposals, I shall not take upon me to judge; but singly or jointly they did prevail with him, as appears by the following Message.

The



*The Lord Bishops of Downe and
Dramore, their Message unto me
from the Prelates, 27 Martii,
1651.*

IN Obedience to your Excellency's
Commands, for giving in Writing
the Message sent by us from his Grace
the Lord Archbishop of *Tuam*, and the
Prelates met at *Gallway* (the Duke of
Lorrain's Embassador being present)
we humbly offer to be as followeth:

That at the Instance of the said Pre-
lates, the Duke of *Lorrain's* Embassa-
dor doth offer plainly, that he will give
twenty thousand Pounds towards the
Defence of this Nation, receiving the
Cautions of the City of *Lymerrick*, and
Town of *Gallway*, &c. for repaying the
said Sum: And further declareth, that
what else of Treaty for or concern-
ing the Duke of *Lorrain* being desired
to be Protector to this Kingdom, or

any thing else, may be remitted to a Treaty and Conclusion by any authorized by your Excellency, to be employed to such as your Excellency shall think fit with his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine*; and that in the mean time, your Excellency may be pleased to accept of this humble Advice of the Prelates, by which they hope God may bless your Excellency in your Endeavours to preserve the Catholick Religion, and his Majesty's Interest in this Kingdom. The 27th of *March*, 1651.

Signed

Fr. *Arth. Dun^{cs}* & Com^{rs}

Fr. *Oliver Dramo*



Fa.

*Fa. George Dillon's Letter to me,
dated 29 Martii, 1651.*

May it please your Excellency,

BEing told that your Excellency <sup>He exprest at
first the Contents
of this Letter,
and those from
the Queen, and
Duke of York,
but did not pro-
duce them until
this Day.</sup> would willingly be informed of the Treaty had with his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain*, concerning his affording Assistance and Succour to this Kingdom; I make bold to signifie unto your Excellency as much thereof as came to my Knowledge, which is this:

In *November* last, his Highness the Duke of *York* being at *Brussels*, oftentimes desir'd his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain* to send what Supplies he could to the Relief of *Ireland*; unto which he was earnestly invited by the Queen of *England*, as by some of her Majesty's Letters hereunto annexed may appear.

Sir Henry de Vice, his Majesty's Resident at *Brussels*, and *Sir George Radcliffe* Governour to the Duke of *York*,

have also been very diligent and earnest in forwarding this Work: they both have desired me to move it unto his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to desire him to take the Kingdom of *Ireland* into his Protection, unto which they assured his Majesty's Pleasure would concur; and thereunto his Highness assented, upon my Lord *Taaffe's* Application unto him. All which can be testified by the Embassador now here, and is humbly offered by,

My Lords,

Your Excellency's most humble

and faithful Servant,

*Galway, 29 Martii,
1651.*

Fa. George Dillon.

The

*The Queen's Letter to the Duke
of Lorrain, Paris 4 Octob.
1650.*

Mon Cousin,

LE Mylord Taaffe, personne de
qualité & de grand mérite, ayant
été depeesché d'Irlande au Roy Mon-
sieur mon fils, par le Marquis d'Ormond,
& par tous les Catholiques de ce Roy-
aume, & étant arrivé ici depuis le parte-
ment du Roy mon fils, en Ecosse: j'ay
cru, qu'il estoit plus à propos de l'arrester
quelque temps, jusqu' à ce que j'eusse
pu estre informée de la maniere que
ceux de sa religion seroient reçus dans
ce pays là, & ai envoié une partie
de ses depeches par un autre, ce
qu'il a jugé raisonnable de faire, & ne
passera pas luy-meme, sans que nous en
ayons des nouvelles. Entre autres choses,
il m'a communiqué une negotiation, qui
vous regarde, & pour laquelle il vous

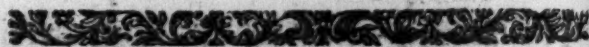
va trouver à present. Il en pourra sortir grand avantage aux affaires du Roy Monsieur mon fils: & il me semble aussi par ce que j'en puis connoitre, qu'il y a lieu de vous donner la satisfaction, qui a été proposée par ceux qui en ont parlé de notre part. Je me remet à my Lord Taaffe de vous entretenir des particularitez, & me contenteray de vous recommander l'affaire, & sa personne qui merite toutes les civilitez que vous lui pourriez faire. Vous le pourrez croire entierement, & dans les assurances que je l'ai prié particulièrement de vous rendre que je suis,

*A mon Cousin Monsieur
le Duc de Lorrain.*

Mon Cousin,

Votre bien affectionnée Cousine,

Henriette Marie R.



*The Duke of York to the Duke of
Lorrain.*

Mon Cousin,

LE my Lord Taaffe s'en allant vous trouver de la part du Viceroy d'Irlande, & de ceux du Conseil Catholique,

que, touchant quelques propositions, que vous leurs avez fait; je n'ay pas cru pouvoir prendre une meilleure occasion de vous temoigner l'amitié & l'estime que je vous porte toujours: vous recommandant aussi particulièrement les Interests du Roy dans les propositions que l'on vous fera à l'avantage de ses Sujets d'Irlande dont ce porteur vous entretiendra plus amplement. Je suis toujours avec passion,

Mon Cousin,

Votre très affectionné Cousin,

De Jersey ce 25 de
Juillet, 1650.

Jaques.

The Queen's Letter to the Duke of Lorrain.

Mon Cousin,

LE porteur de celle-cy, mon Cousin le Viscomte de Taaffe, ayant été depeché vers le Roy Monsieur mon fils, de la part du Marquis d'Ormond, pour lui rendre compte de l'état des Affaires d'Irlande a trouvé sujet, pour des raisons qui ont empêché son voyage en

*The 18th of
Nov. 1650.*

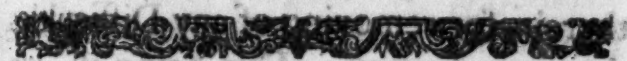
en Ecosse, d'y envoyer ses Lettres, & attendre lui mesme icy jusqu'à present. Il est aussi instruit de la part des Catholiques, & a la connoissance de leurs sentimens pour tout ce qui generalement regarde le bien de ce Royaume; s'en allant vous trouver il vous communiquera tout ce de quoy il est chargé, & particulierement vous entretiendra d'une negociation, qui a ete commencée en Irlande par vos ordres & Agens; & de laquelle, si les circonstances à present en pouvoient permettre la conclusion, il en pouroit sortir, à mon advis, grand avantage, & utilité aux affaires de Roy Monsieur mon fils. Je vous prie de vouloir regarder l'affaire en cette consideration, comme aussi tout ce qui vous sera representé au regard de l'Irlande, où il semble que les choses ne sont pas si desesperées, qu'elles ne pouroient estre remises, en cas que nous fussions assistés de nos amis. Je vous conjure de nous donner le secours de vos advis & conseils, & de vous laisser informer par le Mylord Taaffe de toutes les particulari-

tés

tes des choses. Vous le pourrez croire
entièrement, & en faire estime comme
d'une personne d'un grand merite, & qui
a servi le feu Roy Monseigneur, & le
Roy Monsieur mon fils, avec affection
& fidelité singuliere. Je me remets à luy
pour le reste que j'aurois à vous dire,
& pour vous assurer, que je suis & seray
toute ma vie veritablement,

Mon Cousin

*La Reine au Duc de
Lorrain par le Mylord
Taaffe, Novembre 18,
1650.*



*To the Lord Archbishop of Dublin
and Tuam, and the rest of the
Prelates and Commissioners in
Trust now in Gallway, 28 Martii,
1651.*

After our hearty Commendations:
The Treaty being now towards
its Conclusion with the Duke of *Lor-
rain's*

rain's Embassador; we hold it fit, least any Interruption should happen, which probably by your Lordship's and the rest of the Prelates their good Endeavours may be removed, that you nor any of them depart, till the Matter receive a final End, which we expect this Day; and have, for hastening the Matter to be drawn up ready for its Perfection, intrusted Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, Knight, and *Patrick Bryan*, Esq; to reduce the Articles and Caution to writing: and do desire, that your Grace and the Prelates will entrust some one or more of the Prelates that may assist therein, for removing of any Difficulties that may happen. This being all, we bid you heartily farewell, and remain at *Tyrellan*, the 28th of *March*, 1651,

Your affectionate Friend.

Signed

Clanricarde.

By

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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*By the Lord Deputy-General of
Ireland.*

Signed Clanricarde.

*The Warrant of Caution to the Mayor of
Lymerick, the last of March, 1650.*

WHereas we have contracted with his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine* his Embassador, for the Loan of twenty thousand Pounds Sterling, to supply the Necessities of his Majesty's Army in this Kingdom, and enable us to preserve his Majesty's Interests and the Nation in general, against the Power of the Rebels now in Arms; in which Contract we have articulated in his Majesty's behalf, to give the City of *Lymerrick* in part of the Caution for his Highness's Security, as by our Articles in that behalf bearing Date with these Presents, more at large may appear; the true Copy whereof we herewith send
unto

unto you: These are therefore to will and require you to observe our Undertaking in that Behalf, and to obey in all Respects what of our Part is by the said Articles contracted for, so far forth as concerneth the said City of *Lymerrick*, for which this shall be your Warrant. Given at *Tyrellan*, the last of *March*, 1651.

The Articles of the Agreement were perfected and concluded this Day but not signed nor delivered until the 4th of April.

To our well-beloved the Mayor of the City of Lymerrick.

The like to the Mayor of the Town of Galway.



Articles

Articles of Agreement, made, concluded and agreed, by and between his Excellency the Lord Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy-General of Ireland, for and in the behalf of his Majesty and his faithful Subjects of the Kingdom of Ireland, of one Part; by Advice and Consent of divers of the Prelates, Nobility, Commissioners of Trust, Gentry and Agents from the City of Lymerick, and Town of Gallway: and the most Reverend and Noble Stephen de Henin, Abbot of St. Catherines, of his Highness the Duke of Lorrain's Privy-Council, Embassador of his said Highness, of the other Part; the 4th of April, 1651.

WHereas his said Highness the Duke of Lorrain, for the Advancement of the Catholick Religion, and

and the Preservation and Recovery of his said Majesty and his loyal Subjects of this Kingdom, their most just Rights and Interest, hath been pleased to afford his Assistance unto this Nation: It is therefore accorded and agreed, by and between the said Parties; and the said Embassador, on the Behalf of his Highness, doth promise and agree to satisfie and pay at present unto such as his Excellency the Lord-Deputy will appoint, for the Service of the said Kingdom, the Sum of twenty thousand Pounds Sterling, including six thousand Pounds already payed unto *Fa. George Dillon*.

It is further covenanted and agreed, by and between the said Parties; and the said Lord-Deputy, in the Behalf of his said Majesty, and his faithful Subjects of this Kingdom of *Ireland*, doth promise and agree to and with the said Embassador, that his Highness the said Duke of *Lorrain*, his Heirs and Successors, shall have and enjoy for Security and Caution of the Repayment of the said Sum, the City of *Lymerick*, and
Town

Town of *Gallway*, until he shall be repaid the said Sum of twenty thousand Pounds. And as for further Supplies to be had for the Advancement of the Catholick Religion, his Majesty and his said Subjects their Interest in this Kingdom, and for his said Highness's Satisfaction in any Matter, which shall be proposed by or in the Behalf of his Highness the said Duke; that one or more shall be employed to his Highness by the said Lord-Deputy, in the Behalf of his Majesty and this Kingdom, fully authorized and intrusted to treat and conclude with his said Highness, or those he shall depute, concerning those Particulars.

It is further accorded and agreed, by and between the said Parties, and the said Lord-Deputy, for and in the Behalf of his said Majesty and his faithful Subjects of this Kingdom, doth promise and agree to and with the said Embassador, that for the further Security of Repayment to his said Highness of the said twenty thousand Pounds, and for the

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Indemnity

Indemnity of the said cautionary Places, the whole Nation shall be liable unto the Repayment of the said twenty thousand Pounds; and the said cautionary Places shall be only to their just Proportion, according to an equal Opplotment to be made upon the whole Nation or Kingdom: And the said Embassador doth covenant to and with the said Lord-Deputy, that the said cautionary Places, and every of them, and the Inhabitants thereof, their Estates, Possessions, Jurisdictions, Civil Government, Persons and Interests, shall not be in any sort or any where prejudiced or disturb'd, but that the said Inhabitants may enjoy those as heretofore; and that until the said further Treaty take effect, by a Conclusion thereof by his Highness, and those now to be employed unto him, his Highness shall enjoy his Majesty's just Dues, Interests, and Rights in the said cautionary Places, towards the Repayment and Satisfaction of the said Sum of twenty thousand Pounds; and the said cautionary Places

are

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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are not to be lyable to any other Burthen from his said Highness, other than that the said Embassador, in the Name of his said Highness, as a Possession of the said Caution, may nominate such to command the Officers and Soldiers now in Garrison in the said City of *Lymerrick*, and Town of *Gallway*, viz. one Commander in each of the said Places; and that notwithstanding such Nomination, the Lord-Deputy may, in case of pressing Necessity for the Publick Service of the Kingdom, make use of his Power as hitherto accustomed.

By the Lord Deputy-General of Ireland.

Signed Clanricarde.

A Warrant of Freedom to the Town of Gallway, the 7th of April, 1651.

W Hereas the City of *Lymerrick* and Town of *Gallway* are cautionary for the Payment of twenty thou-

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sand

said Pounds Sterling unto his Highness
 the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Majesty's just
 Dues therein being by us engaged to-
 wards the Repayment thereof, which
 Engagement may bring upon the said
 City and Town, the Burthen and Trou-
 ble of Garrisons more than usual: We
 having taken the same into our Con-
 sideration, and the Willingness of the
 said City and Town to forward the
 Service of his Majesty and this King-
 dom, and that they have been, and at
 present are, at great Expence in fortifying
 the said City and Town; are therefore,
 by the Advice and Consent of the Com-
 missioners intrusted in Pursuance of the
 Articles of Peace, and at the earnest
 Request of the Mayor and Inhabitants
 of the said Town of *Gallway*, and of
 the Agents of the City of *Limerick*,
 pleased that the said City and Town, the
 Liberties and Counties of them, and e-
 very of them, shall not contribute or be
 liable, during the time they shall be
 cautionary, to any of the Opplotments
 or Assesments in the County at large, or

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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in any other Place of the Kingdom, other than upon the Repayment of his Highness's Disbursements by the Kingdom, the said City and Town shall pay their just Proportion of the said twenty thousand Pounds, and of such further Supplies as his Highness, his Heirs and Successors, will afford for the Service of the Kingdom: And we are further pleased, that during the said Engagement, the Merchants of the said City and Town shall have free Liberty of Exportation of all Native and Foreign Commodities, notwithstanding any Act to the contrary, they paying thereout his Majesty's just Dues, as by the Articles made between us and the said Ambassador, they are dispos'd. And we are further pleased, that two hundred Muskettiers, with Officers and a Gunner, under the Command of Sir *Robert Lynch*, be forthwith sent to the Isles of *Arran*, with a reasonable Proportion of Ammunition, and three Pieces of Ordnance with Necessaries; and that three Months Means be provided them out of the said

twenty thousand Pounds to be received, deducting thereout so much as the Contributions of the said Islands comes unto, according unto their Dividend for that time; the said Ammunition to be provided by the Publick, and the said Town of *Gallway* to furnish the three Pieces of Ordnance, for which the said Corporation is to be paid by the Publick out of the next Supplies: And after the Expiration of the said three Months, the said two hundred Men and Officers to be there maintained at the publick Charge, as the rest of the standing Forces of the County of *Gallway*. Given at *Tyrellan*, the 7th of *April*, 1651.

The like Warrant to the City of Lymerick, only leaving out what belongs to the Isles of Arran.

Articles



Articles of Agreement, made, concluded and agreed upon, by and between his Royal Highness the Duke of Lorrain's Ambassador, in the behalf of his Highness, of the one Part: and the Mayor, Sheriffs, Burgeffes and Commonalties of his Majesty's Town of Gallway, for and on the behalf of the said Town, Liberties and County thereof, of the other Part; bearing Date at Gallway aforesaid, the 6th day of April, 1651.

W Hereas by Articles of Agreement, bearing Date the 4th of April 1651, made and concluded by and between his Excellency the Lord Deputy-General of this Kingdom, and the said Ambassador, It is accorded and concluded, by the Advice and Consent of divers of the Prelates, Nobility, Gen-

try, and several Persons entrusted from the City of *Lymerick* and Town of *Gallway*, by and between them; That his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain*, his Heirs and Successors, shall have and enjoy the City of *Lymerick*, and the said Town of *Gallway*, as Caution and Security for the Repayment of twenty thousand Pounds, now payable by the said Embassador, for the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, his Majesty and his faithful Subjects their Interest in this Kingdom: And whereas his said Excellency, for the better Security of the said Mayor, Sheriffs, Burgeses and Commonalty in their Interest and Fortunes, hath authorized the said Mayor, Sheriffs, Burgeses and Commonalty, to make the following Particular Articles with the said Embassador:

It is therefore covenanted, granted, concluded and agreed upon, by and between the said Embassador, for and in the Behalf of his Royal Highness the Duke of *Lorrain*, on the one Part; and the Mayor, Sheriffs, Burgeses, and
Com-

Commonalty of his Majesty's Town of *Gallway*, of the other Part: that the said Town of *Gallway*, with the Liberties thereof, and County of the said Town, and the Lands held in Burgage of the said Mayor and Corporation aforesaid, concerning the Civil and Politick Government, Jurisdiction, Privileges and Freedom, shall be governed according to the Charters, Customs, and Laws of the said Town, and the fundamental Laws of the Land; and that they shall not be subject to the Imposition of any manner of Taxes, Imposts, Excise, Contributions, Benevolence, or Loan-money, on his Highness's Behalf, for the Militia, or any other Pretence whatsoever; and shall be free from Hurt or Prejudice from his Highness, or any under his Command, in their Persons, Goods, Lands, Estates and Possessions, or in any other Matter or Thing; other than that his Highness shall have and enjoy his Majesty's signary and just Dues in the Premises, according to the said

Arti-

Articles agreed upon between his Excellency the Lord-Deputy, and the said Ambassador. That the Garrison to be received in the said Town of *Gallway*, shall be from time to time maintained at his Highness's Charge: and to the end the Inhabitants of the said Town, Liberties, County of the said Town, and Burgage Lands aforesaid, may not any way be charged by or for the Soldiers in the Garrison in the said Town, his Highness shall give effectual Orders for their Pay, and Observation of all good Discipline: and that the said Inhabitants, nor any of them, shall be molested, questioned, charged, or troubled in their Persons, Goods, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, for accomplishing any part of the Contract concluded, or to be concluded, with his Highness in the Behalf of this Kingdom; other than upon the Repayment of his Highness's Disbursements by the Kingdom, to pay their Dividend of the Charge of the whole Kingdom, as the same

same shall be equally appointed by the chief Governor or Governors, and the general Assembly of the Kingdom, and not otherwise.

That if his said Highness's Soldiers, or any of them, or any under his Highness's Command, shall do any Injury or Wrong, unto any of the Members or Inhabitants of the said Town, Liberties, and County thereof, and the Lands held in Burgage, in their Persons, Goods, Lands or Hereditaments in any Place within this Kingdom; that due Reparation and Satisfaction shall be made thereof: and in case of any Injuries done, or to be done, to any of the Inhabitants or Members of the said Town, Liberties, and County thereof, and the said Lands held in Burgage, or any Place by Sea, or within this Kingdom, in Body, Goods, Lands or Tenements; they shall make Application for Justice to his Majesty's chief Governor or Governors, or other Ministers of Justice, or Persons authorized by his Majesty in this Kingdom, as the state of the Case shall require:

quire: and that Execution shall issue to his Majesty's Officers. And that upon failure of the Execution of any Acts, Orders, Decrees or Judgments therein given, or to be given, by his Majesty's Governor or Governors of this Kingdom for the time being, or other Ministers of Justice, or Persons by him or them authorized, his said Highness's Forces, or so many and such as shall be fully sufficient, shall be employed under their proper Officers, to do Execution herein, in every Case of failure as aforesaid.

That if there be any Occasion for, or whensoever the Payment of the said Monies shall be made, the Town of *Galloway* shall not be liable to repay the twenty thousand Pounds Sterling now delivered by his Highness's Ambassador, or any part thereof, or for any other Sum or Sums to be issued hereafter in the Behalf of this Kingdom; except only their just Proportion according to their Dividend, as shall be agreed upon by the chief Governor or Governors, and

and the General Assembly of the Kingdom: saving always in the Interim unto his said Highness, his Majesty's just Dues in the said Town, to be received by his said Highness, towards the Repayment of his said Highness's Disbursements. And for the better Security of the said Town, and the Inhabitants thereof, the said Embassador, in the Behalf of his said Highness, doth hereby covenant, that the Inhabitants of the said Town, or any of them, shall not be troubled, molested, or sued in their Goods, Estates, or Persons at any time, either in this Kingdom or beyond the Seas, for the said twenty thousand Pounds Sterling, or any Part thereof, or any other Sum or Sums of Money to be issued as aforesaid.

That his Highness shall not alien or dispose of his cautionary Interests in the said Town, unto any King, Prince, State, Potentate, or any other Person or Persons whomsoever.

In-

~~OF THE~~
*Instructions for the Lord Viscount
 Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett,
 Knight, and Jeffry Browne, Esqs*
 12 Aprilis, 1651.

YOU are, upon your Landing to dis-
 patch to the Queen, the Duke of
 York, and the Lord Lieutenant; who
 upon Delivery of your Letters, is faith-
 fully to inform each of them of the whole
 Passage and Circumstances of this
 Treaty.

You are upon delivery of our Letters
 to his Highness the Duke of Lorrain,
 to let him know how chearful a Recep-
 tion we have given to his Embassador;
 and how much we do magnifie the Re-
 solution he hath taken to preserve the
 Catholick Religion, his Majesty's Inte-
 rest, and this afflicted Nation: and how
 great the Obligation is, which in so do-
 ing he shall lay upon this Nation, and
 how useful his Majesty's grateful Me-
 mory

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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mory of such his Undertaking may be to himself in future, when God shall be pleased to restore him to his Dominions: and you are further to inform him, how great the Respect is, which in our particular we bear unto his Highness.

You are to inform him of the Caution given for the twenty thousand Pounds, and describe unto him the Strength and Situation of the Places, the Goodness and Conveniency of the Harbours, as what else may induce him to believe that those Aids now sent, and the other which you are earnestly and effectually to move for, are well and profitably employed by him.

You are not to proceed further than giving Caution for his Money and Supplies, until you be enabled to go on in the rest, as his Majesty's Ministers shall direct you: and we are confident his Highness, in the Agreement, will have a tender Regard of his Majesty's Honour and Interests, and will rather consider his Alliance unto him, and the Fame he will acquire by so glorious an Action,
and

and thereby put an Obligation of Gratitude upon him, than to exact any thing in relation to his present Condition: and upon Knowledge of his Highness's particular Pleasure and Expectations, you will immediately endeavour to procure such further Authorities and Instructions from his Majesty's Ministers, as may enable and authorize you to conclude the Treaty, as you hope to his Highness's just Satisfaction, and with that Expedition as the Necessity of our present Condition requires.

You are to proceed upon this Treaty no otherwise or further, except for procuring more Supplies upon Caution, than you shall receive in writing from her Majesty, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant: and upon the Conclusion of the Treaty, you are to bring us her Majesty's, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant's Ratification of it, with Letters unto us from each of them, directing us to approve of it here, and to give Obedience thereunto.

In

In case you may not readily procure all those Authorities and Ratifications, you are to rest satisfied with the Authority and Ratification of my Lord Lieutenant alone, or any other of his Majesty's Ministers, particularly authorised by his Majesty to negotiate and conclude this Treaty.

You are also to impart your Negotiation to Sir *Henry de Vice*, his Majesty's Resident at *Brussels*; and by his and any other his Majesty's Ministers Concurrence, to strengthen it so far as possibly you may.

If you find that any other or others, pretending any Agency or Power to obtain Aids for this Nation, have obtained any Aids; you are, so far as conveniently you may, to call and compel them to Account for the same, and to pay you the Monies or other Aids. And you are also to declare in our Name against such Agency, and if need be to send a Declaration to the Press for that Purpose. And we expect, that all and every Person and Persons, that bear any Trust

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or

or Letters from us now in the Behalf of the Kingdom, for Aids to be had in *France*, or the *Low-Countries*, do take your Concurrence, and correspond with you therein, and to give you the Account and Payments of those Aids, then what you will find necessary to allow such, for their Care and Endeavours therein, and for their Expence and Maintenance.

You are to make use of the Declaration you have with you, containing the present State of Affairs, by delivering or sending Copies thereof to the Lord Lieutenant, and such others as you shall think fit.

You are carefully to enquire after all such as now part this Kingdom, to inform your selves as near as possibly you may, what their Employment is, or what Affairs they deal in, and to inform the Lord Lieutenant and us from time to time thereof; and if they deal in any thing concerning this Affair, you are to declare against them.

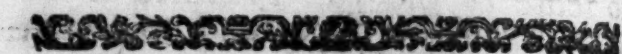
You

You are, as Occasion shall offer, or when it will be opportune, to recommend and countenance Mr. *Nicholas Bodkin* Merchant, in all such Affairs wherein he hath Trust or Commission from us.

You are, as soon after your landing as conveniently you may, to send us Intelligence of her Majesty's Place of Residence, the Duke of *Norck*, and the Lord Lieutenant, and what Knowledge you shall receive of his Majesty's Condition, and the State of Affairs abroad; and for the better Furtherance thereof, to hire some small Packet-boat, with Direction to put into *Ireconaught*, or some other Creeks or Harbours in the County of *Mayo*, lest this Harbour should be block'd up by the Parliament Shipping.

Ad 12

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*The State of his Majesty's Affairs,
and the Condition of his faithful
Subjects in the Kingdom of Ire-
land, 12 April, 1651.*

THAT the Power and Success of the Rebels hath been such, as the whole Nation is now in their Possession, or subject to their Contribution, except the Province of *Conaught*, and the County of *Clare*, and his Majesty's City of *Lymrick*, and Town of *Galloway*; that the said Province of *Conaught*, and County of *Clare*, are for the most part waste, by the Continuance of that heavy Burthen the War hath brought on them, and by Incursions of the Rebels.

That the Rebels having an over-mastering Power in all Parts of the Kingdom, other than the said Province of *Conaught* and County of *Clare*, many of his Majesty's Forces that hitherto had their Relief out of other Quar-

ters

ters, have been forced for their Safety to retire to the said Province of *Conaught* and County of *Clare*; which, together with the Forces maintained there formerly, are become so burthensome to the People, as that they are thereby utterly impoverished.

The Nation being in this Extremity, no considerable Forces can be brought together to maintain even a defensive War against the Rebels, much less an Offensive; and had not the River of *Shannon* been an Interruption to the Rebels Incursions since *October* or *November* last, till this present, it is very evident, that the Rebels had, e'er this, over-run the Province of *Conaught*, and County of *Clare*, and consequently would bring under their Power the City of *Lymerick*, and Town of *Gallway*.

The said City of *Lymerick* and Town of *Gallway*, observing all other his Majesty's Cities and Towns of Strength within the Kingdom to be lost; and now, that there was no considerable Army of his Majesty's Forces within the

Kingdom to relieve them, in case they were besieged, or any Probability, for want of Means, to bring any such Army into a Body; have of a long time, out of the feeling Sense they had of their own Destruction, been inclined to treat for Conditions with the Rebels, before the Danger might come nearer them, and before the said Province of *Conaught* and County of *Clare* were over-mastered by the Rebels Power, as the rest of the Kingdom was. This was not only the Study and Apprehension of the said Towns, but was also the Resolution of most others, that could not humanly see how they might be otherwise preserved: And it was by very great Endeavours and Industry, that the General Assembly held at *Loghbreagh* in *January* last, was with-held from treating for Conditions with the Rebels.

Many of the Officers of his Majesty's Army, finding the sad Condition the Nation was reduced into, not able to keep any considerable Forces in a Body to oppose the Rebels, did from several

Parts

Parts of the Kingdom represent their Sense, that it was absolutely necessary for the Peoples Preservation to treat with the Rebels for Conditions, seeing there was no Power to resist them.

The general Desperation in all Persons and Places hitherto under his Majesty's Obedience, did so change the Resolutions of the People, as they parted with nothing willingly to maintain the Forces, each one looking after the ways of his particular Subsistence; and the City of *Lymerrick* and Town of *Gallway*, either for fear to incense the Rebels the more, or to advantage themselves in such Conditions as should be had from the Rebels, did not afford so ready and clear Obedience to his Majesty's Authority as accustomed.

His Highness the Duke of *Lorrain's* Ambassador arriving here, and it being given out that he came with Offers of powerful Assistance for the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, his Majesty's and Subjects Interest, the People took much Comfort and Encouragment

thereby, hoping that the Rebels Power might be opposed; and soon after did the said Towns, and all other Places, yet in his Majesty's Obedience, seem more chearfully than before to assist his Majesty's Authority, in opposing the Rebels, and to disavow and disclaim any Treaty with the Rebels, though formerly inclined, if not resolv'd.

His Excellency the Lord-Deputy understanding, that some Aids might be had for the present Relief of his Majesty's Forces, did give Audience to the said Embassador; and though the Letters he brought were not to the Lord-Deputy, nor any having his Majesty's Authority; yet he having publickly avow'd that his Master knew not his Majesty's Authority was intrusted with any in this Kingdom; and that if he had known so much, he would have made his Application by Letter to him, with whom that Authority was intrusted; his Lordship therefore authorized some of the Prelates and Commissioners of Trust to treat with him; and was content that

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the Prelates, Nobility, and other Persons of Quality, then in or near *Gallway*, and Agents of the City of *Lymerrick* and Town of *Gallway*, might meet to consult of that Affair, and represent their Sense thereupon to his Excellency: who being accordingly called together, and consisting of very many of the Prelates, Nobility, and Gentry out of several Parts of the Kingdom; at which Meeting also the Agents of the said City of *Lymerick* and Town of *Gallway* were present, and several Officers of the Army; who after a long and serious Debate of the Matter propos'd by his Highness's Embassador, they weighing the unavoidable Danger the Nation was in of falling into the Rebels Power; and how the People, if not suddenly assisted, were so much impoverished, as they would be utterly destroyed, or enforced to submit to the Rebels; and considering that his Majesty was not in Condition to relieve them, nor could Application with Safety be made unto him; did therefore Advise, and were of Opinion, seeing his

his Highness the Duke of *Lorraine* made it his Care to preserve the Catholick Religion, and the People's Interest, and to recover from the Rebels what they possessed, that it was absolutely Necessary to accept of his said Highness's Protection: But the said Ambassador's Propositions being such as his Excellency the Lord-Deputy could not assent unto, the said Ambassador was induced (taking Caution for the present Supplies) to agree, that the Treaty and Conclusion for further Supplies, and the Proposals made in the Duke of *Lorraine's* Behalf, might be put over to be determined by his Highness, or such as he would depute, and such as now should be authorized by the Lord-Deputy in his Majesty's Behalf. The present Supplies had, do not much amend the Condition of his Majesty's Affairs in this Kingdom; and if Ways may not be found to hasten very suddenly further and more considerable Supplies, what is left of the whole Nation yet in his Majesty's Obedience, will soon be in the Possession
and

and Power of the Rebels, the Season of the Year being now such as the Rebels may in many Places on the *Shannon* make their Incurfions, and draw their Forces into the said Province of *Conaught* and County of *Clare*; which they may the better effect, having not any Forces considerable of his Majesty's Army, that might distract them in the Province of *Munster*, *Leinster* or *Ulster*; other than that the Lord of *Muskery*, with some Party in the County of *Kery*, and Borders of the County of *Cork*, giveth considerable Disturbance to the Rebels Designs in *Leinster*; some small Parties only that cannot regularly be maintained in Body, do when Opportunity is offered, perform Service against weak or scattered Parties of the Rebels, but can attempt nothing against any considerable Body of the Rebels: And in *Ulster*, though his Majesty's Forces are numerous in Foot, yet wanting Horse, and many unprovided of Arms, and having no regular way of Maintenance, they can attempt little to distract the Rebels Forces,

Forces, in that Province; that Party of his Majesty's Forces in *Ulster* having lately, for want of Horse, received a considerable Loss upon a Defeat near *Fena*; and by that means also, the said Garrison of *Fena* (being a considerable Place) was lost; so that as upon the whole Matter it is very evident how great the Evils are that will happen, if immediately great Aids be not hastened to this Nation; for this Kingdom will, by the fore-flowing thereof, be intirely in the Enemies Power and Possession, and the People universally inforced to submit unto them, by which the Rebels will have the Opportunity to send from hence a great and considerable Power, that may distract his Majesty's expected Success in *England* and *Scotland*, and be an Occasion of the Loss also of his Majesty's entire Interests, in both his said other Kingdoms.


A Copy of my Letter to the Queen,
12 April, 1651.

May it please your Majesty,

THE State and Condition of this afflicted Kingdom, and the Sight I had of your Majesty's and the Duke of *Tork's* Letters to the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon the Subject of assisting this Kingdom, moved me to entertain a Treaty with the Abbot of *St. Catharine's*, his Highness's Ambassador; and having concluded with him for the Aids now received, I have employed Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, and Mr. *Jeffrey Browne*, over, to joyn with the Lord Viscount *Taaffe*, in agitating those Matters which I have not Power to determine here; and must depend upon that which they will receive from your Majesty, his Highness the Duke of *Tork*, my Lord Lieutenant, and others his Majesty's Ministers, to whom his Majesty's Pleasure

sure may be soon imparted. I shall forbear to be a further Trouble to your Majesty, by repeating of Particulars, whereof those I have now employed over are directed to give your Majesty an exact Account, in the behalf of

Your Majesty's

*most humble, faithful,
and obedient Servant.*

Signed

Clanricarde.



*A Copy of my Letter to the Duke of
York, 12 April, 1651.*

May it please your Highness,

THough I have not had the Honour to receive any Commands from you, yet having seen some Letters of your Highness directed unto the Duke of Lorrain, expressing your Care and favourable Regard of this afflicted Kingdom,

dom, I hold my self obliged to advertise your Highness of the Abbot of St. Catherine's the Duke of Lorrain's Embassador's Arrival here, with Letters of Credence directed to the Prelates, and Noblemen, supposed to be in the Government in this Kingdom; which notwithstanding he presented unto me, excusing this by the Duke his Master's not knowing that any was deputed to exercise his Majesty's Authority here. The Result of my Proceedings with him, your Highness may be pleased to receive from Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, and Mr. *Geffry Browne*, whom I have employed, and joyned in Commission with the Lord Viscount *Taafe*; to whom I humbly desire full Credence may be given: And that your Highness will direct them, in this Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*, in what manner and how far it may be fit for them to proceed therein; I having of my self neither any Power or Instruction to guide me, other than by referring them over to observe such Commands as they shall receive from
her

her Majesty, your Highness, and the Lord Lieutenant, who at a near Distance may receive his Majesty's Pleasure thereupon; and your Highness's Commands shall be readily obeyed, by

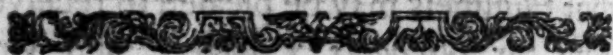
Your Highness's

most humble and

obedient Servant.

Signed

Clanricarde.



A Copy of my Letter to the Lord-Lieutenant.

May it please your Excellency,

*The 12th of
April, 1651.*

WHen by your Commands I took this Charge upon me, I conceived I had encountered sufficient Difficulties, when I engaged in the Prosecution of a War against a powerful Enemy, that had gained above three Parts of the Kingdom; not having any Certainty of Arms,

Arms, Ammunition or Money; the few Towns left, stubborn and refractory; the Soldier dismay'd and in Want, the Country exhausted, and the People unsettled and divided in their Affections, and debarred all Intelligence of the true State of Affairs abroad: But all these summed together did not so much perplex me, as the Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain's* Ambassador since his Arrival here, recommended over by the Lord *Taaffe*, and grounded upon Letters of Credence to him from your Excellency, and from others of this Kingdom by your Permission; countenanced as he affirmed by the Queen, and the Duke of *York*, Sir *Henry de Vice* his Majesty's Agent at *Brussels*, and Sir *George Radcliffe* Governour to the Duke; and all cryed up by the People here snatching at any Novelty, and many of them forward to put more into his Hands, and to infuse such high Demands unto him, that in my Judgment was no better than a total transferring of the Crown from his Majesty to a Foreigner.

reign Prince; and on the other side, the Rebels of *England* ready to devour us immediately, if I did not make use of the Assistance offered: and nothing of Instruction, or hope of Supplies from your Excellency, or any of his Majesty's Ministers abroad. The Particulars of the Treaty will appear more clearly to your Excellency by the Papers that accompany this Dispatch, which do in order state the whole Proceeding; that your Excellency may with the greater Expedition judge, and know how to carry on that Treaty abroad. It will be necessary to be watchful over the Bishop of *Fernes*, who (as I am informed) is gone to the Duke of *Lorraine*, and carried some Instrument with him privately signed by some particular Persons; that I cannot discover. It is conceived that the high Demands the Ambassador at first insisted upon, were not according to his Instructions, but taken out and infused into him, by Sir *James Preston*, *Rotchford* and others, from that Instrument of the Bi-
shop

shop of *Fernes*. I send your Excellency only the Copy of my Lord *Taaffe's* Letters directed to your Excellency, conceiving it best to keep the Originals safely by me; as also the original Letters of the Queen, and Duke of *York*, delivered me by *Fa. George Dillon*, together with his Letter to me, expressing his further Discourse with Sir *Henry de Vice*, and Sir *George Radcliffe*. I find the Ambassador is much fallen off from his good Opinion of my Lord *Taaffe* and *Fa. George*; neither perhaps will your Excellency be well satisfied with their Management of Affairs, if his Lordship were acquainted with the Height of his Uncle's first Proposals here; yet I held it best to countenance my Lord *Taaffe*, by joyn- ing him in Commission with Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, and Mr. *Geffry Browne*, and writing in Commendation of the other, who have no other way left them but to depend upon your Excellency, and other his Majesty's Ministers, being lost on the other side, and may probably inform, and make Discoveries, if there

be any hidden Practices between the Embassador, and any disaffected Persons from hence. Though the said Embassador hath been extremely civil and respectful to me, in the latter Part of his Transaction, and with the highest Expressions possible of his Master's clear Intentions, and Affections towards his Majesty; yet I find many of the Town of *Gallway*, and others residing there, extremely ill inclined, and working as I apprehend to settle him in his Majesty's Rights here, and diligent in infusing those Thoughts into him. But *Lymerrick*, by the well managing of Mr. *Stackpole*, hath gone all along upon a very clear and loyal Score, and am confident will not be wrought upon to come at all within his Power upon any other Invitation, than the Commands they shall receive from his Majesty's Authority, and will much sooner chuse a Submission to the Rebels, than to be over-powered by any Foreigner.

Sir *Nicholas Plunkett* hath, since my first Entrance into Authority, assisted

me with extraordinary Prudence and Diligence, and opposed all Miscarriages or Infringments upon his Majesty's Government, and I believe settled in a very firm Friendship towards me, in order to his Majestys Service: And I am the more confident therein, in regard our first Entrance into Friendship had its beginning from a free and full Expostulation of former Passages, and Causes of Suspicion, both in relation to your Excellency and my self; and having been brought to this good Pass, I beseech your Excellency to take notice of him; and treat him so, as a Person that hath been in that Manner recommended to you by me; and tell him you will make use of his Advice and Assistance, with a Confidence answerable to what I have expressed of him, and ready to represent him in such a Character unto his Majesty.

I must acknowledge, I have entered into a great Presumption, and run a great Adventure, to engage those Towns to a Foreign Prince, without special Autho-

rity for it; but I was encouraged thereto, by my Knowledge that your Excellency did the last Summer entertain the same kind of Treaty, and our Dangers and Necessities are much encreased since that Time. Besides, the Queen's and the Duke of *Tork's* Letters to the Duke of *Lorrain*, do much approve, and earnestly press the going on of that Treaty. I may further say, that the Towns would have done it without me, with much more Hazard to his Majesty's Affairs and Interests. And having given your Excellency this Account, by what Motives and Inducements I have been guided in the whole Transactions of this Treaty, there remains only to expect, and humbly to submit unto such Judgments and Censure as his Majesty, or your Excellency, shall think fit to impose upon me. I humbly crave your Excellency's Pardon, for having made use of another Hand, being in no perfect State of Health, and much burthened, both with the Haste and Consequence of these Dispatches, and the Apprehensions of, and
Care

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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Care to prevent the Enemy's forcing a Passage over the *Shannon*, now ready for that Attempt in several Places, and like to prevail, if God in his great Mercy, and Justness of the Quarrel, doth not vouchsafe an extraordinary Blessing and Assistance unto

Your Excellency's

most faithful and

humble Servant.

*Lisbreagh, April
12, 1651.*

Signed

Clanricarde.

~~THE MARQUIS OF CLANRICARDE~~

*A Copy of my Letter to my Lord
Taaffe.*

My Lord,

YOURS of the 27th of *December*, The 12th of April, 1651.
directed to my self, and those to my Lord Lieutenant of the third and fifth of *January*, I received from *Pa. George Dillon*; my own on the last of
I 4 *February,*

February, and my Lord Lieutenant's on the seventh of this Month, after Audience given to the *Lorrain* Ambassador, who would not make his Applications to any other, finding the King's Authority entrusted to me; though his Letters and Commissions were otherwise directed; and telling me that the want of right Intelligence occasioned the Duke of *Lorrain's* not writing to me. The Delays and Difficulties which have arisen upon this Treaty, through my want of Power and Instruction to intermeddle in Matters of so high Nature, and the Practices and bad Infusions put into the Ambassador, by seditious and ill-affected Persons, I believe much different from his Instructions, or your Lordship's and Fa. *George Dillon's* Knowledge or Expectation; and much Art used to discharge both of you from having any Interest in the Business, whensoever it should be well determined; but the Bishop of *Fernes* to be the sole Manager of it, and as it is by some suspected, upon very pernicious

cious Conditions, contained in a private Instrument he carried over with him, and secretly signed by some particular Persons, whom I cannot yet discover, but will be worthy your Lordship's diligent Enquiry, both for the King's Service, and your own Honour and Interests, will all come so clearly represented to your Lordship by *Fa. George Dillon*; as also how far I was enabled to proceed in the Treaty here, and to leave the rest to be concluded abroad by your Lordship, and those I now send over, according to my Instructions to your Lordship and them, and the Advices and Commands you shall receive from the Queen's Majesty, the Duke of *York*, and my Lord Lieutenant, in case his Majesty's own Commands cannot timely be procured, who by Letters newly received from the Earl of *Derby*, is growing into so hopeful a Condition, as that it may be possible for us here to weather out this Storm, without too high Engagements. But those Matters I must leave to the Consideration
of

of those authorised by his Majesty on the other side; Obedience being the only proper Part I am to act in Transactions of this Kind, &c.

Loghringh, April
12, 1651.

Signed

Clanricarde.

*A Copy of my Letter to the Duke
of Lorrain,*

Serenissime Princeps,

Celsitudinis vestræ Legatus Reverendissimus ac Nobilissimus Stephanus de Henin, Abbas de Sancta Catharina, eorum quæ hic inter nos peracta sunt, instrumentum fert meâ manu signatum, & proprio meo sigillo munitum. Illius in rebus gerendis solertiam expertus sum, & ea humanitate præditum novi, ut non solum omnium animos, omnium affectus vestræ Celsitudini conciliaverit, sed & sui memoriam apud nos reliquerit gratissimam. Illum ergo
tam

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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tam fidelem, tam perspicacem tanti
Principis ministrum Celsitudini vestræ
commendo, ut pro merito favores, quos
illi impertiri dignatur Celsitudo vestra,
indies augeantur, Celsitudinis vestræ
manus deosculor,

Celsitudinis vestræ

humilissimus Servus.

*Leobridge, April
9, 1651.*

Signed

Clanricarde.



*Colonel Synott, Octobris 5. Received
the 7th, 1651.*

May it please your Excellency,

HIS Highness the Duke of *Lornain*
being careful of the Preservation
of this Kingdom, and the Interest of his
Majesty; and being now in actual Pre-
paration for the Relief of both, hath
been pleased to send by me to your
Excellency his Letters, and a small Pro-
portion

portion of Arms and Ammunition, as Earnest of considerable Supplies to follow with all possible Expedition. My Lord, I long passionately to kiss your Excellency's Hands, and present unto you my Master's Letters, which the Distance of the Place of your Excellency's Residence, the Danger of the Way, and my haste to carry this small Supply to *Galloway*, do compel me to defer, until I receive your Excellency's further Commands and Directions how to send you the Letters, without which I dare not hazard them with a Foot-post. I arrived here Yesterday, and am resolved to go with the first fair Wind to *Galloway*, from whence I will try all means to send the Letters to your Excellency; if in the mean time I receive no further Orders from your Excellency, whose Hands I humbly kiss, and continue,

My Lord,

Your Honour's

humblest Servant,

Inisboshme, O'Fobris
5, 1651.

Oliver Synott.



Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr.
Geffry Brown to me, the 14th of
September, 1651. Received the
7th of October.

May it please your Excellency,

HAVING come to Sea out of *Ireland*
the 23d of *April*, we landed not
in this Country till the 6th of *June*, ac-
cording to the Computation here, on
which Day in the Evening we arrived
in the River of *Amsterdam*, and the next
Morning we begun our Journey for this
City, and came hither the 12th of *June*:
Where after a few Days we had Audi-
ence from his Highness the Duke of
Lorrain, and delivered our Letters of
Credence, and entered on a Treaty ac-
cording to our Commission and Instru-
ctions, and found on Debate some Alte-
rations sought, different from the Pro-
ceedings in *Ireland*: And howbeit there
were here with the Lord *Taaffe* some
Grounds

Grounds, that might encourage us to proceed, as your Lordship will find by the Copies of his Majesty's Letters of the 21st of *January* last, and of the Lord Lieutenant his Letters of the 13th of *March*, both directed to the Lord *Taaffe*, and here inclosed; yet to the end nothing might be wanting, in pursuance of our Instructions, we hastened your Lordship's several Letters to the Queen, to the Duke of *York*, and to the Lord Lieutenant; and upon Debate amongst us, it was agreed, that the Lord *Taaffe* should repair to *Paris* with those Letters, where then the Queen, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant were. On the 7th Day of our coming hither, being the 19th of *June*, the Lord *Taaffe* began his Journey to *Paris*, by whom we sent our Instructions, the Representation signed by your Lordship, importing the present State of the Country, and all other the Papers that might give her Majesty, and the rest, the full Knowledge of those Affairs; and accompanied those with our Letters to her Majesty,

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to his Highness, and the Lord Lieutenant. The Copies of those our Letters, for your Lordship's better Information, are also here enclosed. And to avoid any loss of time in that Matter, before we had a Return from *Paris*, we prepared the Affairs here with the Duke of *Lorraine* the best we could, and solicited him with all Earnestness for some present Aids of Mony and Ammunition. Matters being thus in agitation here with us, we received her Majesty's Letters in Answer of ours; whereof the enclosed is a Copy, by which, and what the Lord *Taafe* represented, we were fully satisfied and encouraged to proceed to a Conclusion of that Affair, &c.





*A Copy of Sir Nicholas Plunkett
and Mr. Geffry Browne's Letter
to the Lord Lieutenant.*

May it please your Excellency,

*The 17th of
June, 1651.*

WE came hither on *Monday* last, authorized by the Lord-Deputy, together with the Lord *Taaffe*, to proceed in the Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*: we have several Packets to her Majesty, and your Excellency, from the Lord-Deputy, wherein an Account is given of the Progress of that Affair in *Ireland*, and of the State of the Kingdom, as it stood when we parted, which was about the 18th of *April*. Those we keep in our Hands, with Resolution that some of us shall wait very soon on her Majesty and your Excellency with them at *Paris*, there to know her Majesty's and your Excellency's Pleasures, concerning the Affairs of that Country, and

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the Effects of those Dispatches. Thus
humbly taking leave; we remain

Your Excellency's

most humble Servants,

Brussels the 17th of
June, 1651.

Nicholas Plunkett.
Geffry Browne.



*A Copy of Sir Nicholas Plunkett
and Mr. Geffry Browne's Letter
to the Lord Lieutenant.*

May it please your Excellency,

HAVING by the last Post written un-
to your Lordship, that one of
us would soon come to *Paris* to inform
her Majesty; and before we could find
our selves in a Condition of Health,
after a Voyage of five Weeks at Sea, to
undergo that Journey, his Royal High-
ness the Duke of *York* going from these
Parts, the Lord *Taaffe* doth attend his
Highness thither, and hath with him
three Packets out of *Ireland* to your

*The 19th of
June, 1651.*

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Excel-

Excellency, two from the Lord-Deputy, and one from Mr. Bellings; he hath also Copies of the Proceedings past in Ireland, between the Lord-Deputy and the Duke of Lorrain's Embassador: As also a Paper, importing the present distressed Condition of that Country. His Lordship best knoweth what past here, and will inform your Excellency thereof at large; so as your Lordship can want nothing of the full Knowledge of those Affairs, that may give your Lordship Light, what is best to be resolved on, in order to the Preservation of Ireland, and of his Majesty's Interest therein; which is like to be entirely in the Rebels Power very soon, if by this or by some other present and prevalent way, powerful Relief be not hastened thither. Thus humbly taking leave, we remain

Your Excellency's

most humble Servants,

Brussels the 10th of
June, 1651.

Nicholas Plunkett,
Geffry Browne.

Brussels, the
10th of
June,

*A Copy of Sir Nicholas Plunkett
and Mr. Geffry Browne's Letter
to the Duke of York.*

May it please your Highness,

UNTIL this Day we have not heard of *The 15th of
June, 1651.*
your Highness being at *Antwerp*;
and being not able of the sudden, after
a long and tedious Journey, to kiss your
Highness's Hands, we sent such Dis-
patches as we had for your Highness
from *Ireland*, by the Lord *Taaffe*, who
is pleased to take that Pains, and will
inform your Highness of the State and
Condition of that distressed Country,
and what his Lordship and we have in
Command to solicit for the Relief of it;
and so we humbly take leave to remain

Your Highness's

most humble Servants,

Nicholas Plunkett.
Geffry Browne.

*Brussels, the 15th of
June, 1651.*

~~MEMOIRS OF THE LORD TAASSE~~

*A Copy of Sir Nicholas Plunkett
and Mr. Geffry Browne's Letter
to the Queen.*

May it please your Majesty,

*The 10th of
June, 1651.*

THE Lord Taaffe will present unto
your Majesty the Lord-Deputy's
Letters, and what his Lordship and we
have in Command to inform your Ma-
jesty concerning the Affairs of *Ireland*.
We wanted not a Desire to accompany
his Lordship to kiss your Majesty's
Hand; but that after our long Voyage,
and being in some Indisposition of
Health, we could not possibly answer
this present Opportunity of attending
his Highness Royal the Duke of *York* in
his Journey thither. But the Lord
Taaffe being better acquainted with the
Proceedings here than we, goeth also
fully instructed with what past in *Ire-
land*, concerning the Treaty with the
Duke of *Lorrain*, and the present State
of

of his Majesty's Affairs there. And when your Majesty will understand the desperate State and Condition of that Kingdom, we doubt not you will look upon it with a feeling Sense, and use all Expedition to procure Relief, for the Preservation of what remains of his Majesty's Interest, which otherwise is like to be very soon in the Rebels Power. So we humbly take leave to remain

Your Majesty's

most humble and
most obedient

Brussels, the 19th of
June, 1651.

Nicholas Plunkett,
Geffry Browne.

*A Copy of the Queen's Letter to
Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr.
Geffry Browne.*

Henriette Marie R.

TRUSTY and Well-beloved, we greet
you well: We have received yours
of the 19th of June, by the Lord Taaffe;

The first of
July, 1651.

K 3

and

and also having understood from him more particularly the State of *Ireland*, and the Propositions now on foot for the Support of those Affairs; We shall assure you that nothing shall be wanting on our Part to procure those Supplies, which the Condition of things there renders so necessary; and we pray God they may be so hastened, and be of such Consideration, as that the present Exigents of that Kingdom may be relieved: Which none can more desire than we do, nor esteem more important to the Good of the King's Affairs. We have intreated my Lord *Taaffe* to give you a more particular Account of our Sense, and of all that hath passed in this Matter since his being here. Remitting you to him, we pray God to prosper your Endeavours, and to have you in his Protection.

From Paris, July 1, 1651.

*A Copy of his Majesty's Letter to the
Lord Taaffe.*

St. Johnstons, Jan. 27.

My Lord Taaffe,

HAVING no Cypher with you, it is impossible to give you such Directions by a Letter as the Business you come for requires. I have therefore given *Rantford* (who will deliver you this) the fullest and particular Instructions I can to communicate unto you, and do therefore desire you to give full Credit to what he shall deliver you from me. The ways here for my Affairs in *Ireland* being obstructed, I have heretofore intreated the Queen to take that Care upon her; and if therefore she shall direct you in any thing, you may safely follow her Advice and Direction, and have my Consent to it. I hope the Distractions I found here being now composed, the Difficulties I was in will also

be overcome so well, as neither the Catholics, nor the rest of my Friends, will be discouraged from my Service hereafter, nor be diverted from the Ways they were in to it; and that I shall shortly have the Means and Power in my own Hands to let them know it. You may perceive, by this general and unperfect Answer, how necessary yours and the rest of my Friends Constancy to my Interest and Service is: I shall make as little Doubt of it in you and them, as I desire you should of the just Sense I have of that Affection and Loyalty I have always found in you; for which you may expect such Returns from me, whensoever it shall be in my Power, as will justify me,

Your very affectionate Friend,

Charles R.

A Copy of the Lord Lieutenant's Letter to the Lord Taaffe.

Caen, March 13, 1651.

My Lord,

I Had given you an Answer to your Letter of the 24th of *February* the same Day I received it, but that I supposed this Post-day would have given me some further Knowledge of that Particular, wherein my Lord of *Inchiquin* undertook to speak with the Duke of *Tork*; but missing that, I have nothing to advise in that Point; the fitness of making the Overture being past Consideration, and the Business being placed where it cannot want those Deliberations requisite in a matter of such Importance: Only this, out of the Friendship you justly presume from me, I advise, That if any thing be done in it, you lose no further time in freely acquainting the Queen with the Part you have

have had in it, and the Motives inducing you to it, which will come better from your self than any other that may inform her of it. I may almost say the same thing touching the Business of *Ireland* and the Duke of *Lorrain*, wherein (for ought appearing to me) there is nothing done that were to be wished undone; and for what remains to produce new and further Supplies, is left to the Agreement that shall be made with his Agent by my Lord of *Clanricarde*, assisted by such as the late General Assembly have appointed; who as they are best Judges of their own Condition, so they have free Liberty from his Majesty, in Case of high Necessity, to endeavour their own Preservation, even by receiving Conditions from the Rebels; which must be much more contrary to his Interest, than to receive Helps from any other to resist them, almost upon any Terms. Besides, you have in this made your Application where the King hath commanded you, and so without new Commands you are

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are fairly quit of the Matter, and our Friends in *Ireland* are five thousand Pounds before-hand with his Highness. I remain

Your Lordship's

affectionate humble Servant,

Ormond.

Articles of Agreement, concluded upon between his Royal Highness Charles the fourth, by the Grace of God, Duke of Lorrain, &c. and Theobald Lord Viscount Taafe, Nicholas Plunkett Knight, and Geffry Browne Esq; Deputies authorized on the behalf of the Kingdom and People of Ireland.

HIS Highness the Duke of Lorrain shall be chosen, taken, and esteemed the true and Royal Protector of *Ireland* (and this to pass to his Heirs and Successors;) by this Title all
Power

Power and Authority of administering the Kingdom, and all other things duly belonging to a Royal Protector, being conferred upon him, according to the Conditions particularly to be declared in the ensuing Articles.

II. And first of all, whereas in the Treaty the Cause of Religion is chiefly concerned, it seemed fit to the Agreers to begin the whole Business, from imploring his Holiness's Benediction and Fatherly Help; which Help as they hope shall not be wanting unto them, neither in spiritual and temporal Ways; so they protest themselves most constantly to remain in the perpetual Obedience and Faith of the Apostolick See and his Holiness's.

III. And whereas to the Reasons of his Highness's taking upon him of this Protection, that at length was added, that he should joyn his Help in prosecuting by War the Enemies of the King of *Great Britain*, and assist him as much as in him lyeth; It is so far from his Intention to take any thing from the Royal Right

Right in the said Kingdom of *Ireland*, that he rather declares himself ready, after having restored Religion and the Kingdom to their right State, to resign all his Authority into his Majesty's Hands, being first reimburs'd of all his Charges expended in that Business.

IV. That those Ends may be compassed, the Obedience and Fealty of the aforesaid People and Kingdom is to be given to his Highness free from the Superiority of any other; as his Highness on his Part will not be wanting to expel from thence Hereticks of Religion, and Rebels to the King, as also to recover and defend the Interests of the faithful Subjects of this Kingdom.

V. The chief Command of the Army in the same Kingdom, both at present and in future, the raising of Men, and all other things in order to the management of the War, shall be directed to his Highness's sole Person and Appointment, or of any other professing Catholic Religion, whom in his Absence he will be pleased at his own Choice to substitute

substitute in his Place, secluding all other whosoever.

VI. Also it is fore-thought and provided on both sides, that his Highness shall not bring in any Novelties to the Kingdom, Cities and Places entrusted to him by way of Caution, contrary to the Securities, Privileges, Immunities, Properties, Goods, Possessions, Estates, or in any way to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, but shall preserve the Fruition of all these entire and whole to the faithful Subjects of this Kingdom; reserving notwithstanding to himself the Power of remedying any thing that may hereafter happen to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth.

VII. As for the Administration of Justice, and other Civil Affairs, that likewise is agreed upon, that without any Innovation all is to proceed according to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and the Form of Civil Government instituted by his Majesty, the Governor, or Assembly.

VIII. The

VIII. The Manner of holding Assemblies shall be the same that formerly hath been, unless through Complaints raised against the Government, or other urgent Occasions, some extraordinary thing must be done. In which Cases, according to the ancient Rights and Privileges of the Kingdom, the calling of the said Assembly shall be in the Power or Choice of his Highness.

IX. After that God shall be pleased to grant the wish'd Success in this Kingdom to Religion, and his Highness's Arms, if the Assembly shall think fit to send Aid to his Majesty, against his Rebellious Enemies in his other Kingdoms, his Highness without delay will fix his Mind on that Result.

X. But if haply through urgent Necessity of his Affairs he may be forced to defer his own going into *Ireland*, it shall be in his Choice and Pleasure to substitute in his Place some Man of Catholick Devotion, and able to undergo such a Charge, independent of any who-soever; who also, if his Highness will be
so

so pleased, shall be received to the Participation of all the Councils concerning either the State, or Civil Government, in equal Right with the rest of the Counsellors legally constituted.

XI. The Cities, Castles, and Possessions to be recovered from the Enemy, shall return to their right Owners constantly persisting on the Catholick Party under his Highness's Command; in whose Power it shall be to garrison the said and other Forts, and Places of Strength, at his Pleasure, as he shall judge it expedient for the Nation's and his own Security. Which Garrisons, and the rest of the Forces, nay all the Army, shall receive their Pay, both out of the Kingdom's Revenues as far as they will go, and as a Supply out of his Highness's own Treasury; Caution being given for the Repayment of these Monies, as also of the Charges which have and shall be expended to the like Uses: But Enemies and condemned Persons Goods shall be disposed towards the said Expences of the War, or to the Reward of

of such as behaved themselves stoutly for Religion and the Kingdom, as to his Highness shall be thought Just, the General Assembly being first consulted thereupon.

XII. Besides the twenty thousand Pounds *English*, already laid out for the use of the Kingdom, his Highness will give such Sums of Money, and such Plenty of Arms, Shipping, Ammunition and warlike Provision, and Victualling, as shall not be above his Ability, nor beneath the Necessity of continuing the War, and recovering the Kingdom.

XIII. For the Repayment of all which Money, as well Principal as the yearly Profit thereof reduced to a whole Sum, the whole Nation of *Ireland* shall stand bound to his Highness even to the last Payment: And for Caution for the same, the undernamed Cities, *viz. Galway, Limerick, Sligo, Athlone* with the Castle, and the Royal Fort of *Duncannon*, if it shall be recovered from the Enemy, shall remain consigned to the Hands and Possession of his Highness, his Heirs and

L Succes-

Successors, until full and entire Satisfaction be made, as is above expressed. Moreover this on both sides is agreed upon, that the aforesaid Cities, Forts and Castles, according to their Duty to his Highness, his Heirs and Successors, shall not, upon any Pretence whatsoever, deny to admit the Garrisons to be sent by them when Need requires; and shall, by vertue of this present Treaty, yield them all prompt Obedience. And when the Collections are to be made for Payment to his Highness of that Money, as well Principal as yearly Profit reduced to a Sum, the Taxes and Cuttings shall be made upon the Goods and Substances of private Men; and that to be distributed according to every Man's Share in equal Proportion, and to be qualified by the General Assembly's Direction.

XIV. And the afore-named Deputies and his Highness will agree upon some certain Way, whereby a true and exact Account may be made of the Charge which he shall be at for the good of the Kingdom, by appointing certain

Pe

Persons to that Task, to be notwithstanding altered by the General Assembly, if so they please.

Lastly, that neither his Highness shall conclude any thing of Truce, Cessation of Arms, or Peace, without the Consent of the Deputy and Assembly; nor likewise the Deputy and Assembly, without his.

In Witness whereof, his Highness the said Duke of *Lorraine* hath set his Hand and Seal, *July 2*, the Year of our Salvation 1651.

Ch. *Lorraine*.

Locus Sigilli.

A. *Geoffroy*: S.



A Copy of the Duke of Lorrain's Letter to me the 10th of September. Received the 12th of October, 1651. Translated out of French.

S I R,

THE Stay which the Gentleman Abbot of St. Catherine hath made with you, and his long Navigation by the Northern Sea, having brought much Delay, as well to his Return as to the disposal of Affairs here; I could not sooner dispatch unto you than this Galliot, by which Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Browne (your Deputies) have in Charge more at large to give you to understand the Conclusion of the Treaty, which I have made with them, to the greatest Advantages that one could desire, for the good of the Catholick Religion, the Service of the King, and Re-establishment of the Kingdom; which are the only Ends that I have proposed to myself. Moreover the Satisfaction which

From Br.
Sept. 20, 1651

the Queen and Duke of *York* have shewn unto me, shall, as I hope, be followed by that of all good People, the Fidelity of whom hath hitherunto appeared without Reproach, in a time when it seems they had no other Recourse but to themselves. I do believe they will now continue to make it good, being (as they are) invited thereunto by the Part which I have taken in their Preservation, preferring it to that of my own Dominion, and to the urgent Necessities of my Affairs; touching which, and the Assurances which I am with all Care and Diligence possible preparing, I beseech you to make known to the good and faithful Subjects of the Kingdom: and in your own Particular, to take all Assurance of the Esteem which I make of your Person, and the Desire which remains with me on all Occasions to acknowledge its Merit, where I may make my self known,

S I R,

Your affectionate Friend,

to serve You.

From *Brussels*,
Sept. 20, 1651.

L 3



A Copy of my Letter to Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Browne, October 20, 1651. Sent directly to Brussels.

S I R S,

YOUR Dispatch of the 14th of September came into my Hands the 7th of this Present; by which, and the Papers that accompanied it, nothing seems more manifest to me, than that you have in a high Measure violated the Trust I reposed in you in his Majesty's behalf. But least I might be charged with the retarding of those Supplies you mentioned are intended for the Relief of this Kingdom, I am sending my Conceptions upon the whole Matter, with my Dispatches, to the Duke of *Lorrain*, by the Way of *France*, to those that are the most knowing and proper Judges of your Carriage and Proceedings, and the Consequen-

ces

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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ces belonging to them; and should be glad there might something appear to justify the Continuance of expressing my self,

Your affectionate Friend,

*Agnewure the 20th of
October, 1651.*

Clanricarde.

A Copy of my Letter to Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Mr. Geffry Browne, October 20, 1651. Sent into France.

S I R S,

YOUR joynt Dispatch of the 24th of September I received the 7th of this Present, together with a Paper stiled by you an Agreement with the Duke of Lorrain, and the Copies of some Letters which you affirm to be from his Majesty, from the Queen, and the Lord Lieutenant; and produce them as Motives, or rather Satisfactions to you, to conclude that Agreement, with what

This Letter lay long in my Hands for want of a safe Conveyance, but upon the Arrival of it in France, was sent to them by his Majesty's Direction.

L 4

Rela-

Relations you had received from my Lord *Taafe*. Upon the first View of that Paper, it appeared by the Title, that it had no Relation to my Commission or Instructions, by which you had Authority to treat with the Duke of *Lorrain*, nor from any other Authority derived from his Majesty; but done and concluded in the Name of the Kingdom and People of *Ireland*, from whom you had not, nor could have, such Powers to treat at all with any Foreign Prince, they professing Obedience, and being under the Government of the King's Authority; so that I conceive the most you can pretend to for your Defence in the highest Breach of Trust imaginable, and which is rather an Aggravation to it, can be no more than a private underhand Instrument contrived and signed by some few turbulent and seditious Persons, and privately conveyed over by others, with whom it seems you have now consorted your selves.

Upon view of the Articles that followed, I found them of such a transcendent

dent Nature, so opposite to and inconsistent with the King's Authority, or the Duty of Subjects, and such an unexampled Confiscation of all the King's regal Rights and Interests in this Kingdom, and so strange a Subversion of the Native's Loyalty, Freedom and Birth-rights, and by evident Consequences such an Engagement of them into a perpetuity of War, and present Rents and Divisions, without any certain Provisions made for their Support, that nothing could be of greater Admiration to me.

The Title and Matter being of this Nature, I find by sure Intelligence, that it was not known at *Paris* in the beginning of *September* last, though my Lord *Tadffe* was then there; nor after at *Brussels* by any, but by those that managed that Affair in the Dark, though concluded in *July*: and that, as the Contract doth manifestly discover, was concluded, and since kept close from the Knowledge of the Queen or the Lord Lieutenant, though pretended by you, and craftily insinuated in your Letters to
several

several Persons here to cover your own Miscarriage: neither, until convinced by evident Proofs, can imagine that my Lord *Taaffe*, from whom you derive your Satisfaction, and is so far obliged to his Majesty, could have a Hand in such a dark Design; or if he had any Tincture to change the Colour, would thus long conceal it from me, being of so great and general a Consequence and Concernment to his Majesty and the Kingdom.

I forbear, until I have a more entire Knowledge of the whole Matter, out of the Duty, Reverence and Respect I bear to the Names of the Queen's Majesty and Lord Lieutenant, (though certainly prophaned by you) to publish such Proclamations against you as are proper and suitable to such Crimes; but they are not long to be delayed, unless there doth appear positive Commands in his Majesty's Name from the Queen and the Lord Lieutenant, after their Knowledge of the Bargain you have made, that I am to leave you to
your

your own Ways and Proceedings, and to withdraw his Authority out of this Kingdom: but the Respect I bear to Princes that profess Amity to his Majesty, obliges me in the mean time to give the Duke of *Lorrain* Notice of your Miscarriages, even in Relation to himself, that he may not be further abused by such Practices; and yet, by the Endeavours I shall use, and the clearness of my Actions and Proposals, invite, and I hope gain him to be a sure and powerful Assistant to *Ireland*, and his Majesty's Interest in it. I have no more to say, but that nothing can be a greater Affliction to me than Breach of Friendship, and that according to my Duty, and the usual Custom at such Distance, I am to stile my self

Your Servant,

Aghmenure, October
20, 1651.

Clanricarde.

~~THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF~~

*A Copy of my Letter to the Duke of
Lorraine, October 20, 1651.
Sent into France.*

May it please your Highness,

I Had the Honour, on the 12th of this
Present, to receive a Letter from
your Highness dated the 10th of Sep-
tember, wherein you are pleased to ex-
press your Zeal for the Advancement of
the Catholick Religion in this King-
dom, your great Affections to the King
my Master, and your good Opinion of
this Nation, and Compassion of their
Sufferings, and your Readiness to afford
them Aid and Assistance, even equal
with your own nearest Concernments;
and that your Highness received such
Satisfaction from the Queen and Duke
of York, as did much strengthen those
Resolutions; so as might have sooner ap-
peared, but for the Stay made here of
Monsieur St. Catherine, and his long
Northern

Northern Voyage upon his Return; and referred what concerned the Agreement, to the Relation of those Commissioners I had employed to your Highness, to treat upon that Subject of Assistance and Relief for this Kingdom.

I do, with much Alacrity, congratulate and applaud your Highness's pious Intentions for the Preservation of the Catholick Religion, your great and princely Care to recover his Majesty's Rights and Interests from his Rebel Subjects of *England*, and the high Obligation you put upon this Nation by your tender Regard of them, and Desire to redeem them from the great Miseries and Afflictions they have endured, and the eminent Danger they are in: And it shall be a principal Part of my Ambition, to be an useful Instrument to serve your Highness in so famous and glorious an Enterprize. And that I may be the more capable to contribute somewhat to such religious and just Ends, first in Discharge of my Conscience towards God, my Duty to the King my Master,
and

and to disabuse your Highness, and give a clear and perfect Information so far as comes to my Knowledge; I am obliged to represent unto your Highness, that by the Title of that Agreement, and the Articles therein contained, made by those Commissioners I employed to your Highness, and but lately come to my Hands; they violated the Trusts reposed in them, by having cast off and declined the Commission and Instructions they had from me, in the King my Master's behalf, and all other Powers that could by any other means be derived from him, and pretend to make an Agreement with your Highness in the Name of the Kingdom, and People of *Ireland*, for which they had not, nor could have any warrantable Authority; and have abused your Highness by the counterfeit Shew of a private Instrument, fraudulently procured, and signed (as I am informed) by some inconsiderable factious Persons, ill affected to his Majesty's Authority, without any Consent or Knowledge of the Generality of the

the Nation, or the Persons of greatest Quality and Interest therein; and who, under a seeming Zeal and pretence of Service and Affection to your Highness, labour more to satisfy their private Ambitions, than the Advantage of Religion or Nation, or the prosperous Success of your Highness's generous Undertakings. And to manifest the Clearness of my own Proceedings, and to make such deceitful Practices the more apparent, I have sent your Highness herewith an authentick Copy of my Instructions, which accompanied their Commission when I employed them to your Highness, as sufficient Evidences to convince them. And having thus fully manifested their Breach of publick Trust, I am obliged in the King my Master's Name to protest against their unwarrantable Proceedings, and to declare all Agreements and Acts whatsoever concluded by those Commissioners to be void and illegal; being not derived from nor consonant with his Majesty's Authority. Being in Duty obliged thus far to vindicate

dedicate the King my Master's Honour and Authority, and to preserve his just and undoubted Rights from such deceitful and rebellious Practices; as likewise with an humble and respective Care to prevent those Prejudices that might befall your Highness, in being deluded by counterfeit Shews of doing you the greater Honour; when it is apparent that any Undertakings laid upon such false and ill-grounded Principles, as have been smoothly disguised and fixt upon the Nation, as their Desire and Request, must overthrow all those heroic and princely Acts, your Highness hath proposed to your self for God's Glory and Service, the Restoration of oppressed Majesty, and the Relief of this distracted Kingdom, who would immediately fall at least into intestine Broils and Divisions, if not forcibly driven into Desperation.

I shall now with a hopeful and cheerful Importunity, upon a clear Score free from those Deceits, propose unto your Highness, that for the Advancement of all those great Ends you
aim

aim at, and in the King my Master's
Behalf, and in the Name of all the loyal
Catholick Subjects of this Nation, and
for the Preservation of those important
Cautionary Places, that are Security for
your Highness's past and present Dis-
bursements, you will be pleased to
quicken and hasten those Aids and As-
sistances you intended for the Relief of
Ireland: And I shall with my whole
Power, and through the greatest Ha-
zards, not only strive to defend them
for you, and preserve all other Ports,
that may be at all times of Advantage
and Safeguard to your Fleets and Men
of War, having yet many good Har-
bours left; but also engage in the King
my Master's Name, whatsoever may
prove to your Satisfaction, that is any
ways consistent with his Honour and
Authority; and have made my humble
Applications to the Queen's Majesty,
and the Lord Lieutenant, further to a-
gree, confirm and secure whatsoever
may be of most Advantage to your
Highness. And if the last Galliot had
M brought

brought us but twenty thousand Pounds for this instant time, it would have contributed more to the Recovery of this Kingdom, than far greater Sums delay'd; by enabling our Forces to meet together for the Relief of *Lymrick*, which cannot be but in great Distress after so long a Siege; and which if lost, though I shall endeavour to prevent it, will cost much Treasure to be regained. And if your Highness shall be pleased to go on cheerfully, freely and seasonably with this great Work, I make no Question, but God will give so great a Blessing thereunto, as that my self and all loyal Subjects of this Kingdom may soon and justly proclaim, and leave recorded to Posterity, that your Highness was the great and glorious Restorer of our Religion, Monarch and Nation. And that your Highness may not be discouraged or diverted from this generous Enterprise, by the Malice or Invectives of any Ill-affected, it is a necessary Duty in me to represent unto your Highness, that the Bishop of *Fernes*, who (as I am informed)

formed) hath gained some Interest in your Favour, is a Person that hath been ever violent against and malicious to his Majesty's Government and Authority, and a fatal Instrument in contriving and fomenting all those Divisions and Differences that have rent asunder this Kingdom, the Introduction to our present Misery and weak Condition; and that your Highness may clearly know his Disposition, I send herewith a Copy of a part of his Letter written by him, directed to the Lord Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Mr. Geffry Browne; and humbly submit to your Judgment, whether those Expressions be agreeable to the Temper and Charity of an Apostolical Spirit; and, considering whose Person and Authority I represent, what ought to be the Reward for such a Crime. I must therefore desire your Highness, in the King my Master's Behalf, that he may not be countenanced or intrusted in any Affairs, that have Relation to his Majesty's Interests in this Kingdom; where I shall constantly endeavour

M 2

deavour by all possible Service to deserve your Highness's good Opinion: and obtaining that Favour be a most faithful Acknowledger of it in the Capacity, and under the Title of,

Your Highness's

most humble, and

obliged Servant,

Aghemore October
20, 1651.

Clanricarde.



*A Copy of my Letter to the Lord
Lieutenant, Octob. 22, 1651.*

May it please your Excellency,

THough your continued Silence, and unexpected Reservedness, ever since your Departure from hence, hath been an infinite Distraction to me; being left (in Obedience to your Commands, at least so understood by me) engaged in very many desperate Hazards

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zards, and difficult Affairs; yet I have received such great Encouragement by his Majesty's gracious Favours, conveyed to me by Master Doctor *King*, vouchsafing to own me in that Capacity I adventured to serve him in, and expressing some Advantages gained thereby, useful to his Service, by the Diversions made here, upon his first springing Successes in *Scotland*; that I have resolved through all Difficulties (unless recalled) to make further Tryals of keeping some footing here, and preserving the small remainder of the honest and well-affected, until the beginning of the new Year may make some better and clearer Discoveries of what we are to trust to, or may further be acted in order to his Service. And now, in discharge of my accustomed Duty to your Excellency's Place and Authority, and my constant Affection to your Person; though in Appearance no Addreses of mine have proved acceptable, or at all countenanced by you, in relation to the Affairs of this Kingdom; I now presume to send

M 3

you

you all the Papers that belong to the Transactions of the Treaty and pretended Agreement made with the Duke of Lorrain, and insinuated to be by the Encouragement and Connivance received from the Queen's Majesty and your Excellency, and given out by others by Approbation and Command; which both the Title and Matter, and my receiving no Intimation thereof, makes very incredible to me; though a Copy of a Letter to my Lord *Tuaffe*, affirmed to come from your Excellency, doth very much puzzle me. I likewise send you all that I think fit or necessary for me to act therein, until better informed or authorized for it; and so do humbly leave it to the Consideration of the Queen's Majesty, and your Excellency, to proceed or give a Stop to what I have done therein; being guided by the best Rules I have learnt of Loyalty and Honesty, if not suitable to a Judgment of State, which in Matters of so high Concernment, I must acknowledge, goes far above my Reach,

The

The Papers speak so full and clearly to the Point, that there needs little further Expressions of mine to be added to them, more than that having little Expectation of any considerable Aids from the Duke of *Lorrain*, upon any Score that appears to me suitable to his Majesty's Honour and Interests, or the Loyalty of his Subjects; it will be necessary, that some other ways of Support should be seasonably considered of: or if the People are to be left in that Manner for to preserve themselves, as I had reason to believe my self sooner capable of that Favour, so I must now make it my earnest Suit, that I may receive that Assurance from the Queen's Majesty, and your Excellency, and your Commands, to withdraw the King's Authority from hence, for my Justification: for unless compelled by such a Necessity, I know not how I can quit the King's Interest here, and the People's Preservation, as long as there is any Hopes left of giving Opposition to the Enemy; which certainly had been far from being despe-

rate, if all the strict ties of Duty and Obedience, given by those Commissioners to the Duke of *Lorraine*, had produced but twenty thousand Pounds in present, to have drawn and kept our Forces together, more numerous than the Enemy, and in a much fresher Condition; of which your Excellency shall have a more particular Account a-part.

Your Excellency's

most faithful

humble Servant,

Aghenure, O'Feb.

22, 1651.

Clanricarde.

*A Copy of my Letter to the Queen's
Majesty, October 22, 1651.*

MADAM,

HAVING presumed to make several Addresses to your Majesty, since the Lord-Lieutenant's Departure out of the Kingdom, giving your Majesty the best

best Account I was able, of the State and Condition of the King's Affairs here, with an humble Expectation to have been made happy by your Majesty's Commands and Instructions, to guide my Actions and Endeavours in these Times of general Distraction and Difficulty; it hath been my great Misfortune, that I could never receive the least Notice from any of your Majesty's Servants, that my Dispatches had the Honour to kiss your Hands, nor no Intimation of your Pleasure in any kind. The Meanness of the Object, in relation to my self, I must acknowledge unworthy the least Trouble of your Thoughts; but by the Capacity wherein his Majesty hath vouchsafed to own me, and the Consequences that belong to the right Guidance of his Service and Affairs in these Parts, I am invited to the Presumption of continued Applications to your Majesty, that I may be strengthened and encouraged, by the powerful Effects of your Majesty's Royal Judgment and Commands. And in order to those

those humble Expectations, I have, by the Information and Conveyance of this Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, given your Majesty a clear Account of all the *Lorrain* Transactions, as far as they came within the Compass of my Knowledge, or Power of enquiring; together with my humble Conceptions and Proceedings thereupon, proportionable to that dim Light allowed me in Matters of such high Concernment: and according to the Discovery I could make, nothing doth appear, that your Majesty or the Lord-Lieutenant were at all acquainted with the Conclusive Part thereof, but rather the contrary, by those Circumstances I could collect, upon Observation of the whole Matter. And if I have fallen into Error or Mistake, I humbly conceive I have been careful in the Contrivance and Application to your Majesty and the Lord-Lieutenant; that I may be liable to Correction, and capable to have my Judgment rectified, without Prejudice to those Affairs by any Act or Indiscretion of mine. And
craving

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craving your Majesty's Pardon for the Length of this confused Account, do most humbly conclude my self,

MADAM,

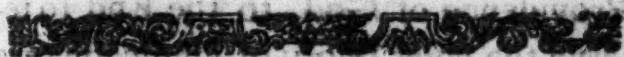
Your Majesty's

most humble, faithful,

and obedient Servant,

Aghmure, Ditch.
22, 1651.

Clanricarde.



*A Copy of the Duke of Lorrain's
Letter to the Corporation of Gall-
way, dated Sept. 10, 1651.
Translated out of French.*

Honoured Sirs,

OF the Agreement made between me, and the Agents of that Kingdom, I leave to them to inform you more particularly, of which they have taken the Charge. I do not think that they will omit how Unchangeable and
Constant

Constant I am, notwithstanding the ill Rumours of your Affairs, and the great and urgent Necessity of my own. I chose to prefer your good, before all Private and Publick Occasions of my Own; as well as I confide that you, to the uttermost, will remain Constant in your Intent to defend Religion and Country, to a high great Hope of your Fortitude. Bear in Mind, that the Success of the Enemies is hitherto permitted by the Providence of God, to the End to reserve the chief Glory of vindicating the Kingdom and Religion to you, and the *Lymerikians*: As they have performed their Part most nobly, I doubt not but when the Occasion of promoting the Cause is offered, you also will perform and shew the like Examples of Constancy with happy Emulation. In the mean time, least the delay of Supply, which proceeded of the slow Return of the Abbot of St. *Catherine*, would put you in any Doubt of my Mind, while with all Care and Diligence to provide and send those Supplies; I thought fit to

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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to hasten the sending thither of this Barque, by which I might assure your Hope of me, and so my Hope of you.

Most worthy People,

Your most affectionate

Brussels, Sept.
10, 1651.

Charles Lorrain.



*A Copy of the Mayor and Council
of Gallway's Letter to the Duke
of Lorrain, Octob. 15, 1651.
Translated into English out of
Latin.*

*To his Highness the Duke of Lorrain,
Protector Royal of Ireland.*

Most Gracious Prince,

BEfore we were informed of the Agreements lately made; we despaired not to be seasonably relieved by your Highness's peculiar Help and Favour; but now being ascertained by the Articles of the Transaction, we do most assuredly

assuredly promise unto our selves greater and more present Remedies unto our bleeding Affairs; for there can be no room left unto a doubting, when we have the Faith of so great a Prince freely given unto us, and voluntarily bound most firm Caution of his unmoved Constancy, Zeal and Piety. Moreover, our Hopes were the more inflamed by your Highness's honourable Letters unto us; which albeit we are unworthy to answer, (for what Thankfulness can be returned by us, proportionable unto the Significations of so singular good Will, but a certain silent Awe and Reverence unto a Prince raised up by Heaven;) we do yet for our Parts freely profess, that we are most ready to undergo Death it self, and all Extremities, rather than we will be wanting unto your Highness's Hopes, and the Defence of our Country; although the Glory of that is entirely left to be most justly possessed by your Highness, whom the Providence of God (Matters of Religion and the Kingdom being ready to sink) by the

divine

divine Impulsion of his own working, hath mercifully pleased; as it were an *Atlas* to support the Heavens; that that Praise which your Ancestors, above Mankind, obtained in the East, you their Offspring should most happily enlarge in the Occidental Kingdoms. But least that those Rumours dispersed abroad by the Hereticks should find Belief, we thought fit to dispatch, with these our Letters, our Faithful and Well-beloved *Nicholas Lynch* Esq; one of our Council, particularly to inform your Highness of our own and the City of *Lymmerick's* Condition, and to represent the Necessity of Aids. In the mean time we most humbly kiss your Highness's Hands:

Your Highness's

most devoted Servants.

Gallway, 27th Feb.
15, 1651.

*A Copy of my Letter to the Mayor,
Council and Corporation of Gall-
way, Octob. 15. 1651.*

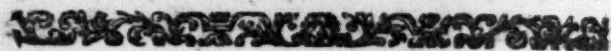
AFTER our hearty Commendations:
We send you here enclosed an
Authentick Copy of the Articles of A-
greement, made with his Highness the
Duke of *Lorrain*, by the Lord Vis-
count *Taaffe*, Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*,
and *Geffrey Browne* Esq; *verbatim*, as
it was transmitted unto us by the said
Sir *Nicholas Plunkett* and *Geffrey
Browne*, who, together with the Lord
Viscount *Taaffe*, had our Commission
to treat and conclude with his said
Highness, according to certain Instru-
ctions sent therewith. Now upon Per-
usal of the said Agreement, we find, by
the Title of it, that it was not conclu-
ded by vertue of our Commission, but
in the Name of the Kingdom and the
People of *Ireland*; which being a Matter
new

new, and altogether unknown to us, we have thought fit to impart the same unto you; *Lymerick*, and that Corporation, being two of the principal Ports of the Kingdom, and the only considerable Places left, either now, or when the said Commissioners were employed over by us, which remained in Obedience to his Majesty's Authority; that you may give us Information, whether those Commissioners had any Powers from that Corporation, to treat and conclude with the Duke of *Lorrain*, in their own or the Kingdom's behalf.

We would likewise have sent to the same Effect to the City of *Lymerick*, but that we are very apprehensive, that the Smallness of the present Supply, the Uncertainty of future Supplies (for anything mentioned in that Agreement) with the want of free Communication thereupon, by reason of the close Siege that is laid unto them, they might be discouraged, and thereby induced to enter into Treaties of Submission to the

N Enemy,

Enemy, which is our principal Care to avoid and prevent. And having thus freely imparted that Transaction to you, which speaks the whole Matter it self, we need say no more, than to desire your speedy Answer, whether you were Actors apart from us therein: And so we bid you Farewel, &c.



*The Mayor of Gallway, the 15th of
October, 1651.*

May it please your Excellency,

THIS Corporation, reflecting on their own present sad Condition, and of the Danger wherein the City of *Lymerrick* stands, have thought fit to authorize me, and the Council, to send to his Highness an Agent, to represent to him, in its own lively Colour, their present Condition, rather than to trust the same to Paper, to implore his present
and

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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and speedy Relief to these Corporations,
and the Kingdom in general. The Per-
son they fixed upon is Mr. *Nicholas*
Lynch. Of this Election and Mission, I
conceive it my Duty to give your Ex-
cellency timely Notice, to the End he
may be seasonably accompanied with
your Excellency's more efficacious Com-
mands: And so I humbly take Leave,
and remain,

Your Excellency's
most humble Servant,

Gallway, Octob.
15, 1651.

Richard Kirwan, *Mayor.*



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A



*A Copy of the Mayor and Council of
Gallway's Letter, concerning the
Agreement with the Duke of Lor-
rain, Octob. 18, 1651.*

May it please your Excellency,

WE have received a Letter (not signed) dated the 15th of this Month, come from your Excellency, directed to the Mayor and Council, to be imparted to the Corporation: but because it was not subscribed, we thought fit not to shew it to a confused Multitude; the rather, that our selves may fully satisfie your Honour, concerning the chief Contents thereof; which is, that we should inform your Excellency whether Sir *Nicholas Plunket* and *Geffrey Browne* had any Power from this Corporation, to treat and conclude with the Duke of *Lorrain*, in our own or the Kingdom's Behalf. And in the
same

same Letter was inclosed a Copy of the Articles of Agreement, pass'd between the said Duke, and the Lord *Taafe*, and the said Sir *Nicholas* and *Geffrey*; by the sending of which Copy we conceive, that your Excellency would also know our Sense touching the said Agreement. In both which Cases, we humbly give your Honour to understand (in the first Place) that this Corporation hath not given any such Power or Commission (as above is mentioned) or any kind of Power to the said Sir *Nicholas Plunkett* and *Geffrey Browne*, nor to any of them, but reposed special Trust and Confidence in their Integrity and Faithfulness to our King and Country.

And as for the Agreement, we cannot but be satisfied and pleased with it, considering the Case that we and the whole Kingdom are in; and grieve much that a Supply of Money is not come in this Frigate, that would procure Service not to be omitted; yet we presume to be humble Suitors unto your Excellency, that if there be any thing missing

of your Expectation in those Articles, or short of your great Desires of higher Conditions for the Good of this Kingdom, notwithstanding, your Excellency be pleased to wink at it, for fear of giving any Occasion of Breach, or not Performance of them, or of delaying the Supplies to come; for which our Boldness we humbly crave Pardon, and remain,

Your Excellency's

most humble, and

*Galloway, Octob.
18, 1651.*

dutiful Servants,

Richard Kirwan, *Mayor.*

Valentine Blake.

Domnicke Browne.

Oliver French.

Stephen French.

Tho. Lynch *fitz Ambrose.*

John Blake, *Record.*

Thomas Lynch, *Vic.*

Peter Browne, *Dep. Vic.*



*A Copy of my Letter to the Mayor
and Council of Gallway, Octob.
20, 1651.*

AFTER our hearty Commendations:
Yours of the 15th, (with a Copy
of the Duke of *Lorrain's* Letter to you
directed) giving us notice of the Choice
you had made of Mr. *Nicholas Lynch*,
to be employed to the Duke, to solicit
Aids in your own and the Kingdom's
Behalf, came not to our Hands until
Yesterday; and how it happen'd to be
kept so long from us, we know not.
Until we are informed upon what Terms
he is to solicit for those Aids, we know
not how to perfect our Dispatches to
the Duke of *Lorrain*, and those Com-
missioners we formerly imployed; and
if you continue those Resolutions of
sending him, we wonder he doth not
repair unto us, for our Information in
that Particular, and receive our Dis-
patches

patches and Instructions; without which we have reason to expect he should not depart.

Yours of the 18th we received this Morning, whereby you assure us, that the Corporation did not give any Power or Commission to those Commissioners employed by us; which makes us much admire by what Authority they pretended to make that Agreement; since by the Title we find, that they have waved our Commission and Instructions, and all Authority from his Majesty: And though all Industry and Diligence is to be used in procuring and hastening of Assistance for our Defence and Preservation, and that we shall also be industrious to the same Effect; yet we think fit, in Matters of so high Concernment to his Majesty, your selves, and your Posterity, to admonish you to be very careful how you engage your selves to any Confirmation of the said Agreement; which, to deal freely with you, we very much resent, both in the Behalf of the King and Kingdom, as

will

will more fully appear in due Time, when it shall not draw a Prejudice upon our present Expectations of Relief.

We have been further informed of an Instrument, signed by several Persons, giving Powers to some others to treat with the Duke of *Lorrain*; without our Knowledge or Consent: We therefore pray and require you, for our better Information, to examine Sir *Oliver French* upon that Matter, who is said to be one of those that signed, and to give us an Account of what you find of Concertment in that Matter; and if you shall deal freely and clearly with us therein, we shall with much Freedom impart our own Proceedings upon this Treaty, and the pretended Agreement made,

Gr.

Dec. at *Aghinure*,

16th Dec. 1651.

Clanricarde.



*A Copy of the Mayor and Council
of Gallway's Letter to me, Octob.
22, 1651.*

May it please your Excellency,

YOUR Excellency's Letter of the 20th of this Month, concerning Mr. *Nicholas Lynch*, Yesterday at Noon we received; and as for the delay used in the Delivery of our Letter, by which we signified the Choice made of him by the Corporation, truly we know not how it happened; neither did we at that time know which Way the said *Nicholas* would take to go towards *Inisboffine*, that being left to his own Discretion; but now, since the Receipt of your Lordship's Letter, we learn, that finding a Boat ready here, going to *Inisboffine* suddenly, he took his Passage in that Boat; and that the only Cause of his taking that Way, was to avoid travelling through Mountains, least to be

be robbed of his Cloaths, and what other things he had for his Journey: And as for the Subject of his Employment, we assure your Lordship, it was for no other End that we sent him, but in regard, we understood by his Highness's Letters, the Aids and Supplies we expected were retarded, by reason of some Doubt conceived of the Alteration of the State of this Kingdom, for want of true Intelligence. Therefore we thought fit, or rather necessary, to employ one, to inform his Highness of the Truth in that behalf, and to solicit the hastening away of those Supplies; conceiving that the same being delivered *viva voce*, would move more than to be expressed in Writing: and wished him first of all, upon his Arrival there, to address himself to Sir *Nicholas Plunkett* and *Geffrey Browne*, and to be advised and directed by them. By which your Excellency may understand our Intent to be clear, and tending to the general Good of the Kingdom; as by the Copy of our Letter herein inclosed, which is
all

all the Power we gave to our said Agent, may appear.

And as for the other part of that Letter, concerning the proceeding of the Agents, we assure your Excellency, once again, that what we have written unto you concerning the same is most true; and do promise to contain our selves from such State Business, otherwise than wishing the Good and Advantage of his Majesty, this Town, and the whole Kingdom. And as for Sir *Oliver French*, upon questioning him, according to your Excellency's Directions, he declared unto us, the Lord Bishop of *Clonfert* and some of the Clergy came to him, and shewed him a Letter written in *Latin*, signed by many of the Prelates and Clergy, setting forth the poor State of the Kingdom, and desiring his Highness's Supply; and because it may be the more Authentick, to have a Magistrate's Hand thereunto, desired him to sign thereunto, which he hath accordingly done, not meaning any Harm thereby. And so, humbly praying
your

your Excellency to dispatch away the
Frigat; Expedition conducing much to
the Safety of the Kingdom, we humbly
take leave, and remain

Your Excellency's

Gallway, Octob.
22, 1651.

most humble Servants,

Richard Kirwan, Mayor.

Valentine Blake.

Domnicke Browne.

John Blake.

Tho. Lynch *fitz* Ambrose.

Peter Browne, *Dep. Vic.*

Stephen French.

James Lynch *fitz* Stephen.



*A Copy of my Letter to the Mayor and
Corporation of Gallway, Octob.
26, 1651. Concerning the Title
of Protector Royal.*

After our hearty Commendations:
We send you herein inclosed the
Copy of a Letter, the Original being
signed

signed by the Mayor and Council of that Corporation, (as they affirmed in their Letter to us of the 22d of this Present) and directed to his Highness the Duke of *Lorrain*, under the Title of Protector Royal of *Ireland*; and being much amazed at such a strange Presumption, and weighing the Ruin and Misfortune that would thereby inevitably fall upon that Corporation, to whom we have always borne a very great and particular Affection: We thought fit to give you, the whole Body of that Corporation, this timely Admonition, least you might be unadvisedly and unawares surpris'd and drawn into an Offence of so high a Nature, and become liable to such Punishments and Forfeitures as are proportionable thereunto; that the giving and directing of any such Title to a Foreign Prince, besides what is contained in the said Letter, though the Agreement reported to be concluded at *Brussels* were done by lawful Authority, (before it be allowed and proclaimed by the King's Authority, together with the
Consent

Consent and Vote of the general Assembly of the Kingdom) is an absolute Forfeiture of your Allegiance, and all your former Charters, Grants, Privileges and Estates; so that whether the King recovers his Right, the Parliament continue their Victories and Successes, or the Duke of *Lorrain* prevails, whosoever hath Possession of your Town, is free and at Liberty to ordain and impose what Laws and Customs they please upon you, without any Regard to your former Charters or Privileges. And this may be made so evidently appear unto you, by any that hath Knowledge in the Law, that we need say no more, than to leave you to the Consideration of a seasonable Remedy, and questioning of what hath been thus acted, without making (as we conceive) that Corporation acquainted therewith. And having thus discharged our Duty to his Majesty, and express our tender Care and Regard of your Preservation, We bid you, &c.

Octob. 16, 1651.

A



*A Copy of my Letter to the Lord
Viscount Muskerry, Octob. 10,
1651. Concerning the Lorrain
Agreement abroad.*

My Lord,

BY the Papers that accompany this,
your Lordship will find that I have
taken a great deal of Pains to give you
a full and clear Account of the *Lorrain*
Treaty, and what Effects it hath pro-
duced; desiring very much to receive
your Lordship's Opinion and Advice
thereupon, going beyond my Skill to
understand what Remedies are to be
applied to such a perpetual Mischief,
threatned and treacherously introduced.
His Majesty's Letter to my Lord
Taafe hath much Kindness and Judge-
ment in it, and hath met with a strange
Requital, or I have very much erred in
those Rules of Service I have been
guided

guided by. And for my Lord Lieutenant's Letter; it was written when the King, by the Enforcement of the Covenant, had disavowed the Peace, and taken away his Protection, and was in the Nature of a Prisoner in *Scotland*; and before he had again avowed us, and settled and confirmed his Government and Authority in me; and his Lordship not knowing then that I had accepted of the Powers he left behind, The Letter of the Queen is upon Generalities, and we must take all upon Trust from my Lord *Taafe*, who was pre-engaged before in the Business, and hath written nothing to give me Satisfaction or Encouragement to connive somewhat, at so desperate an Adventure. In a Word, my Lord, without Authority we are betrayed, and bought, and sold, without Assurance of any thing to support the Kingdom, either in Loyalty or Rebellion; and your Lordship's Sense, to prescribe some timely Remedy, is with much Longing expected by me. That which I think of at present, though not

O

come

come to a settled Resolution is, when time is convenient for it, and what Supplies may be had gotten in, to declare against the Commissioners and their Proceedings, and with much Kindness and Civility to disabuse the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to offer him all the Engagements and Cautions for securing his Monies, that can be any ways consistent with the King's Authority; and to let him know the Danger and Prejudice he will draw upon himself the other Way: neither the King nor Kingdom being bound by any thing that they have acted; having, as you will find by the Title, waved the Authority they had from me, and had no other from the Nation, but a private Instrument carried by the Bishop of *Fernes*, signed by some few Bishops, and other un-interested Persons. I have appointed the Continuation of the General Assembly to be at *Jamestown*, the sixth of the next Month, and Letters to that Effect are now sent your Lordship for the Province of *Munster*; and your Lordship is not to neglect being

ing there if possible you can, or at least some settled Resolution from you. For, at that time I am resolved to open the whole Business to the Assembly, and to know whether they are for the joint Treachery of all the *Lorrain* Commissioners, or for the particular of *Geffrey Browne*; or whether they will joyn with me for the Support and Continuance of his Majesty's Authority: and most of the whole Matter depends upon the King's Success, and Footing in *England*. To conclude, that which most amazes me is, not receiving one Syllable from my Lord Lieutenant since his Departure, nor any thing from the Queen or Duke of *York*, concerning the *Lorrain* Transaction; but whatsoever happens, I shall still be honest, and constantly

Mr. Geffrey Browne, by a Letter of the 24th of September to me, coming along with the Articles of Agreement, persuaded me to take Conditions from the Enemy both for the Kingdom and my self.

N. B. This marginal Observation, written as all the rest are in the Marquis of *Clanricarde's* own Hand, has a Piece of Paper pasted over it in the MSS.

Your Lordship's

most affectionate

humble Servant,

Clanricarde.



*A Copy of my Letter to the Bishop
of Dromore, October the 8th,
1651.*

My Lord,

I Shall add little more to my Lord
Westmeath's Dispatch, than this un-
pleasant Story; that I very much doubt,
the Agents I employed for the *Lorrain*
Treaty, have very unhandfomly broken,
and highly transgressed the Trusts I re-
posed in them. And though very bold
Adventurers in concluding that Transa-
ction, yet I find they are now grown very
timorous and fearful of the Success or Be-
nefit of their Bargain. In a Word, I am con-
fident it will appear to the most Confide-
rate of the Assembly, which I am call-
ing at *Jamestown* the 6th of *November*,
that with a premeditated Resolution
from the Beginning, through some pri-
vate Workings, they have sold upon the
Matter

*Both of them
seemed suspicious
and doubtful of
the Duke of
Lorrain's Pro-
ceedings and As-
sistance, which
they might have
better provided
for before they
made so bold a
Bargain.*

Matter the King's Rights and Interests, and the People's Loyalty and Freedoms in the Kingdom, for nothing, or upon very small Assurance of any reasonable Support of their Safety, even in that infamous Way, and so delay'd, as must in all Probability have come too late. But I must intreat your Lordship to be very secret in this Business, least it might divert the Supplies that are ready to come to us. And though it appears to me as yet to be very ill-spun Yarn on their Parts, yet I may be somewhat mistaken; and however, am hopeful so to cast a Figure, as to redeem the King's Honour and Interest, as far as it is concerned therein; and make the Matter of good Use and Advantage to the Kingdom, and preserve the Duke of *Lorrain's* fit Security and Satisfaction, if his Majesty continue any good footing in *England*, as my Lord of *Muskerry* by Letters this Night doth assure us of, notwithstanding some Loss at *Worcester*. But if I fail of my Design, I must then leave

MEMOIRS of the
to their Destiny those that will not be
preserved by any Industry of

Your Lordship's

very affectionate

humble Servant,

Aghinure, 8th Feb.
8, 1651.

Clanricarde.



A Copy of my Letter to the Bishop
of Dromore, October the 16th,
1651.

My Lord,

IN pursuance of the former Discourse,
I briefly touch'd upon in my Dispatch
of the 8th of this present, I hold it ne-
cessary to send your Lordship here in-
closed, a Copy of a Part of a Letter of
the Bishop of Fernes, directed to the
Lord Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett
and Mr. Geffrey Browne, as Commis-
sioners employed and authorized by me;
together with the Copy of another Pa-
per,

per, by them intituled *An Agreement with the Duke of Lorrain*; that by those you may observe the Efficacy of that Prelate's powerful Spirit, in persuading and prevailing with the Commissioners to break and betray the Trusts I reposed in them, in his Majesty's Behalf; and as far as my Judgment and Observation can reach, selling, or rather confiscating, the King's Regal Rights and Interests in this Kingdom, and the Nation's Loyalty, Freedom and Birthrights, without any Authority, or certain Provision made in any Proportion to support them, either in Obedience or Rebellion; and yet by an evident Consequence engaging them in a Perpetuity of War, and questionless into a present fatal Rent and Division. If upon the meeting of the Assembly, it shall be found, that I cannot be any further useful to the Preservation of the Kingdom, and shall incline to retire my self, (which is not yet any settled Resolution in me, but rather the contrary, if Men can be drawn unanimously to understand them-

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selves,

MEMOIRS of the

selves, and act their Parts, so as may give most Probability of Safety and Success, which I shall both by Reason and fit Preparations endeavour to persuade them to) I do however expect, in which of those Courses I shall steer, your Lordship, and other reverend Prelates and Churchmen, will do me that Right, as to give Testimony what Authority I had for those Proceedings I am so highly traduced for, and what Rules and Principles in Religion hath still tempered and guided the Disposition and Conscience of

Your Lordship's

very affectionate

humble Servant,

Aghenerie October
16, 1651.

Clanricarde.

*I writ the like Letter
at the same time to
the Lord Archbishop
of Tuam.*

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~
*A Copy of my Letter to Sir Richard
Blake, Decemb. 1, 1651. concern-
ing the Towns giving the Title of
Protector Royal.*

S I R,

MY Indisposition hath, until now,
diverted my acknowledging the
Receipt of two Letters from you. To
the first; certainly to say no more, by
the Superscription, they have done a
very unnecessary and imprudent Act,
likely to draw a lasting Prejudice upon
them, whosoever prevails, if not now
prevented; which I have already freely
expressed unto them: and for the Obje-
ction, that it was to quicken Assistance
to them, it may be part of their Instru-
ctions to their Agents, that they omitted
the Title until the rest of the Kingdom
had met to publish their Resolutions with
them therein; though even this is to
appear as an Advice of yours, and not
at

at all from me. And if they did look no further than the present time, the fastening themselves so entirely upon one Prince, who is said to be of no settled Resolutions, must divert all the Assistance that might be had from other Princes, whose Interests would invite them to it, if they did not find so fixt and positive a Combination with another; and it will be very necessary I should know whether they will be guided herein by your good Counsel.

Concerning the Preparation made for my Reception, which I am thankful for, and shall clearly express unto you, that the Doubt, how I should be received, by reason of the strange Reports that come from thence, was the principal Motive of my Stay, though not well besides. But if they express their Desire of my coming at any time, and that it shall appear for their Advantage, I shall spare no Pains, nor doubt any Hazard for their Good; having settled my Resolutions, with Patience and Perseverance to sacrifice my self (notwithstanding all malicious

licious Invectives, sufficient to draw on a general Ruin) in all things conducing to his Majesty's Service, and the Kingdom's Preservation; of which I cannot yet despair, if I meet with any fit Compliance and Conformity, to second the diligent and watchful Endeavours of

Your affectionate Friend,

Signetur. Decemb.

1, 1651.

Clanricarde.



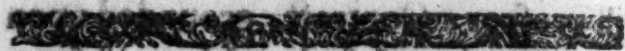
*A Copy of Part of the Bishop of
Ferne's Letter to the Lord Vis-
count Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plun-
kett and Mr. Geoffrey Browne.*

I Do with all Sincerity offer mine own
Opinion, what is to be done by you
in this Exigency: which is; to the end
the Agreement you are making with his
Highness the Duke of Lorrain become
profitable to the Nation, and acceptable
in the Eyes of God, that you will im-
mediately with humble Hearts, make a
Submission

Submission to his Holiness, in the Name of the Nation, and beg the Apostolical Benediction, that the Light of Wisdom, the Spirit of Fortitude, Victories, Grace, Success and those Blessings of God (we one time enjoyed) may return again to us. The Necessity of doing this is the greater, that the Person from whom you come with Authority is, for several Causes, excommunicated *à Jure & Homine*, and is at *Rome* accounted a great Contemner of the Authority and Dignity of Churchmen, and Persecutor of my Lord Nuncio, and some Bishops and other Churchmen. Some of his own Letters come fair for the Proof hereof. You may be pleased to call to mind that he (though much and often moved thereunto) never joyned with the Confederate Catholicks, until he found the Opportunity of bearing down the Pope's Nuncio: and had the Lord of *Inchiquin*, who not long before dyed his Hands in the Blood of Priests and innocent Souls in the Church or Rock of *St. Patrick* in *Cashill*, to close with him

him in Society of Arms, the Nation hath now no cause of Joy in that Conjunction of those two Stars. Do you think God will prosper a Contract, grounded upon the Authority of such a Man, if some other way be not found of reconciling him unto us, that therefore what is profane may be made holy, and what is rotten sound? Say in the Name of the Nation with the prodigal Child, *surgam & ibo ad Patrem, & dicam ei, Pater peccavi in Cælum & coram te*; and even immediately go to his Holiness's Inter-nuncio in this City, to make this happy Submission, *quia nescit tarda molimina spiritus sancti gratia*. This being done, go on chearfully in your Contract with this most Catholick Prince, who, did he know rightly the Business, without such Submission, would never enter upon a Bargain to preserve, or rather restore, holy Religion in a Kingdom, with Agents bringing their Authority from a wither'd accurs'd Hand: and God will send his Angels of Strength and Heighth before that People, at least many of them, who
lying

lying in a Darkneſs, and ſhackled with the Irons of Excommunication, &c.



From the King's Maſteſty to me the 10th of February. Received the 8th of Auguſt, 1652.

CHARLES R.

Right truſty, and right entirely beloved Couſin and Counſellor, we greet you well. We have ſeen and peruſed your ſeveral Letters of the 22d of *October*, and 16th of *November*, to our Lieutenant of *Ireland*, together with the particular Accounts of the unhappy State of that our Kingdom, and the ſeveral Tranſactions there; in all which we cannot but obſerve ſo much Wiſdom, Courage and Affection to us, throughout your whole Carriage, that we muſt take another time, and another way, to expreſs the deep Senſe we have of your ſingular Merit towards us: your whole Demeanour being worthy the
Son

Son of such a Father, who left so full an Evidence of his faithful and unalterable Duty and Affection, to the Interest and Government of the Crown of *England*. As we are exceedingly troubled at the miserable Condition of our good Subjects there, improved by the Passion and Unskilfulness of those who would be thought well-affected to us, and faithful Lovers of their Country, as well as by the Strength and Power of our *English* Rebels: so we have a very tender Consideration of your Particular, who, we well know, have exposed your self, out of your Zeal to our Service, to many Inconveniencies, and to much Danger which you might otherwise have avoided; and therefore you may be confident, we shall leave no way unattempted, which may contribute to your Succour and Relief. As soon as we had (to our great Satisfaction and Content) perused the Copies of your Letters to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to the Commissioners at *Brussels*; and had heard the Articles Read, which we had
never

never seen or heard of till the arrival of your Letters; we gave direction for the present sending the Original Letters, both to the Duke, and to those Gentlemen. And within few Days (least we might be thought to neglect any possible Means of sending Relief and Assistance to that our Kingdom) we sent our Letter to the Duke of *Lorraine* (a Copy whereof we herewith send you) earnestly to invite him to enter upon a new Treaty with us, and continue his Care and Affection towards our Subjects of that our Kingdom; in which we conceive our good Catholick Subjects have Cause to acknowledge, that we have offered whatsoever can be reasonably expected from us. And we hope that our good Cousin, the Duke of *Lorraine*, will so far approve thereof, that he will proceed in sending such a Succour and Assistance to you, as may enable you to keep up a War with those wicked and detestable Rebels, until by a Conjunction with other Catholick Princes (which we are using our uttermost

most Endeavours to procure) a further Aid may be sent to you. What good Effects this Desire and Overture of ours to the Duke of *Lorrain*, or any of our other Endeavours shall produce, you shall be sure to be advertised of from our self, or our Lieutenant. If in the mean time, by the access of Power to the Rebels, or by their Success, or by the Inconstancy, Perverseness, and Obstinacy of those, who notwithstanding all their Professions of Affection and Obedience, make no Conscience of neglecting and affronting our Authority and Government; you are not in a Condition to expect that Succour and Assistance which we hope to procure, without exposing your self to manifest and remediless Mischiefs, in case such a Supply should fail: We do not only give you full License to withdraw your self out of that our Kingdom, and to do whatsoever else you shall find necessary and convenient for your own behoof; but we do conjure and require you to have so seasonable a Care of your self, that you be

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not

not by any Accident, which may be fore-seen or reasonably apprehended, plunged or involved in such Inconveniencies as cannot be repaired: Since it would be an unspeakable Addition to the Grief we suffer for the publick Calamities of our Kingdoms, that such a Servant, by whose Virtue and Interest we may always hope to make a new Impression upon that Kingdom, whensoever we shall be fit to undertake it, should come to any signal Misfortune, by his vehement Affection and Zeal to us. When you shall find it necessary or fit to withdraw your self, we do entirely leave it to your Wisdom and Discretion, to leave such Order and Direction as you judge most convenient, for the keeping such a War and Contention still on foot with the Rebels, as upon any Alterations, which it may please God to produce in either of our Kingdoms, or upon any Access of new Force and Powers, (which we shall every Day labour to procure) we may be the better able to make an Entry into, and Impression upon

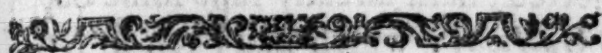
upon that our Kingdom; which it were great pity should be conquered, and totally reduced by such a handful of Rebels. And without doubt, the keeping up the War there in any kind, either Offensive or Defensive, is of the highest Importance to Us and our Service that can be performed; as the contrary would be of the greatest Prejudice to all our Designs. And we do likewise wholly refer it to your Judgment, whether before or at your leaving that Kingdom, or at all, you will think fit to publish or make any Act or Declaration against those violent Persons, who have given such fatal Interruption to the Wellfare and Union of that Nation, whereby they might have been able to have opposed the Common Enemy; and who have always behaved themselves with such Disobedience and Contempt towards us, and our Authority; and who still labour to get it believed in the World, that they are and have been the only Persons, who have any Care of the Catholick Religion within that our Kingdom;

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dom; and that all that hath been granted, or offered on our Part, and dutifully received by the Body of our Catholick Subjects there, would not contribute to the Security of the same. Whether it be seasonable to make the Truth of this appear, and how indulgent we have been and are to our good Subjects of that Religion, we leave it to you to judge, who being upon the Place, can better discern the Consequences thereof. And what you shall do in that, or any thing else that concerns us, we shall be very well satisfied with; there being no Man, upon whose Courage and Conduct, Fidelity and Affection, we do more absolutely rely; and so we bid you very heartily farewell. *Given at the Louvre in Paris, this 10th Day of February, 1652.*

To our right trusty, and right entirely beloved Cousin and Counsellor, Ulick Lord Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy-General of our Kingdom of Ireland.

From



*From the King's Majesty the 23d of
March. Received the 8th of
August, 1652.*

CHARLES R.

Right trusty, and right entirely be-
loved Cousin and Counsellor, we
greet you well. Since our Letters of
the 10th of *February* (whereof we
herewith send a Duplicate to you) we
have sent our right trusty, and right
well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, the
Earl of *Norwich*, to *Brussels*, to treat
with our good Cousin the Duke of *Lor-
rain*, for a speedy Supply and Relief of
our good *Roman* Catholick Subjects in
Ireland; who hath made so good a Pro-
gress in that Negotiation, that the Duke
of *Lorrain* (without insisting on those
Articles which had been consented to
by the *Irish* Commissioners there, and
which with so much Reason, Justice,
and Affection to us, you disproved and
P 3 rejected)

rejected) hath already sent some Supply to *Gallway*; which had been in several Respects more considerable, if the same had not been hindred (by Accident) by some rude People in *Zeland*, without any Authority from their Governors; and is now preparing a much greater Succour and Relief of Corn, Arms and Ammunition, and other necessary Provisions, both for *Gallway* and *Munster*, which we hope will arrive very seasonably there, and it may be as soon as this our Letter. The said Earl of *Norwich* informs us, that he hath found those Gentlemen, (who were Commissioners in the late Treaty, and are still at *Brussels*) very ready and zealous to assist him in the Solicitation of the Duke of *Lorrain*; and that they make great Expressions of their Affection and Fidelity to us, and our Service, and excuse their consenting to the late Articles, only by the remediless Necessity they then conceived that our Kingdom to be in, and the absolute Despair they had to procure a present Supply by any other means;

means; and that they kept both Parts of the Articles in their own Hands, till our Pleasure should be known; and had not in that Transaction any purpose of Undutifulness or Disrespect towards us: which we are willing to believe, and graciously to accept their future Service and Endeavours, it being in effect the same Answer we have received here from our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin the Lord Viscount *Taaffe*, of whose Affection towards us we are abundantly satisfied. And we do therefore not only wish that no such Proclamation may issue out by your Direction against them, for what they have done in the late Treaty, as they may have reason to apprehend by your Letter to them; but we do recommend them to your good Opinion and Favour; to the end, that upon their Application to you, you may receive them into the same Place of Confidence and Esteem you have formerly had of them, and use their Advice and Service as heretofore. And we presume they will

make it their Work to the uttermost of their Power, to dispose and unite the Affections of our *Roman* Catholick Subjects for the better carrying on the Work, wherewith you are principally entrusted by us; that the Rebels may not make use of the Divisions and Factions of that People, which in the End must prove fatal to the whole Nation. Though we have received your Letters of Credence, which you sent to us by Dr. *King*, and which together with his Instructions he sent to us by the Post, as soon as he arrived in this Kingdom; however himself being still on the Way, and not yet come to us, we know not what to add to this, and to our former Letters: but assure your self, as soon as he shall have informed us what you have given him in Command, we will make another Dispatch to you, and as far as in us lies satisfie all your Desires; and so we bid you very heartily farewell. *Given at the Louvre in Paris, this 23d Day of March, 1652.*



*A Copy in English of his Majesty's
Letter to his Highness the Duke
of Lorrain, dated the 6th of
February. Received the 8th of
August, 1652.*

Cousin,

WE have lately seen a Letter from
the Deputy of *Ireland*, directed
to our Lieutenant of that our Kingdom,
now attending our Person, together
with certain Overtures made and pro-
posed by some of our Subjects now at
Brussels, to your Highness; in order to
the Supply and Relief of our said King-
dom, and oppressed Subjects there: with
which Propositions or Articles we were
not in the least degree made acquaint-
ed; nor was our dearest Mother the
Queen, our Dear Brother the Duke of
York, or our Lieutenant of *Ireland* in-
formed thereof, till within these very
few

few Days, when the said Articles were transmitted hither by our Deputy of that our Kingdom; albeit that they seem to be consented unto by these Gentlemen at *Brussels*, about the Beginning of *July* last. We have been likewise informed by the Testimony of the Lord *Taaffe*, and by the Message which *Fa. Dillon* lately brought to us from your Highness, with what Affection and Tenderneſs towards us, your Highness (according to your accustomed Kindneſs and Friendſhip to us) hath proceeded in this Buſineſs: and that though the said Articles were freely submitted, consented to, and signed so long ſince by thoſe Gentlemen on their Part, and that your Highneſs frankly undertook to perform any thing that they had propoſed to and expected from you; yet that your Highneſs wou'd not accept any of that Power, or exerciſe any of that Jurisdiction within that our Kingdom, which they had offer'd to you; nor ſo much as receive the ſaid Articles ſigned by them, or ſuffer them to remain in any other Hands

Hands but their own, till your Highness should receive our full Approbation of all that had been offer'd: which was so generous and princely a way of Proceeding, that we must always acknowledge it, amongst those high Obligations which we have so frequently received from your Highness. We perceive, that the Marquis of *Clanricarde* our Deputy there, (who as he is very solicitous for our Service and Concernments; so he is known to have always been as zealous for the Catholick Religion, as any of our Subjects of that Nation, and must be presumed to know the Affections and Interests of that People as well as any, whatsoever others pretend) hath by his late Address to your Highness (whereof we have seen a Copy) presented to your Highness his Opinion of the Matter of the said Articles, and of the Persons who contrived them, and of the Impossibility of receiving the intended Fruit of your Highness's Favour by those Means; and therefore we shall say no more of either, having still the more
reason

reason to remember the Honour and Justice of your Highness, in refusing to receive without our Consent what others so frankly without our Leave offer'd to give. Nor do we too severely interpret even those Offers, but do believe that they proceeded rather from the Smart, Anguish, and Despair those Gentlemen felt, from the languishing and gasping Condition of their miserable Country, than from their want of Affection and Duty to us and our Interest. It is very true, the Miseries and Calamities which have almost overwhelmed that Kingdom, can hardly be express'd, which in a short time, if some seasonable and very timely Supply and Assistance be not applied, to stop the Success of our *English* Rebels there, must probably be concluded in the utter Extirpation of that Nation, and the total rooting out the Catholick Religion within that Kingdom; to the free Exercise whereof, many Indulgencies, and large Immunities and Concessions have been granted by us, even to the Satisfaction

faction of those who are the most zealous Promoters of it. As all those Sufferings and Afflictions of those our Subjects, whatsoever they are, or may grow to be, cannot in the least degree be imputed to any Fault or Failing of our blessed Father, or our Self; so we have left no Means within our Power unattempted to remedy the same, and are still most ready to use our utmost Endeavours to procure any Relief for them. But we must confess, that in this sad Conjunction of our Affairs, which is enough known to the World, that Work seems almost desperate, without some Conjunction in Catholick Princes, who for the Preservation of that Religion, and out of Compassion to so distressed a Nation, may administer some such Succour, as may prevent the immediate Ruin of that People, and keep the Rebels from an entire Possession of that Kingdom, until farther Assistance may be applied to it. And how to procure any such Conjunction, we know no Way so good, or hopeful, as by the Mediation

tion and Example of your Highness; who besides several other Testimonies of your great Affection to us, have lately given a full Evidence of your particular princely Care of that People, by sending them such an ample Supply and Assistance as hath hitherto (next under God) alone preserved them from being swallowed up by their and our Enemies. And we are thereby especially encouraged, not only to desire your Council, by what Means or Ways, we ourselves may best endeavour the Relief of our poor Catholick Subjects of that Kingdom; but that your Highness, by sending those Succours you intended, will continue your Goodness and Favour towards them to that degree, that they may be sustained in a Condition to contend with their Enemies, until by other Catholick Assistance (for the procuring whereof nothing shall be left undone on our Part) they may be enabled to make a farther Impression upon the Rebels, and to regain what they have lost. And for the better carrying on so
good

good a Work, and to induce your Highness to so charitable and chargeable an Enterprize, as we have already confirmed the Agreement made between our Deputy of that our Kingdom, and the Abbot of *St. Catherine*, your Highness's Minister employed thither: so we are and will be most ready to consent to whatsoever shall be proposed to be done on our Part, which is consistent with our Kingly Interest, and the Obligations we stand bound in to all our good Subjects. And your Highness being especially inclined to this glorious Undertaking, by your Zeal to the Catholick Religion, we do give our Royal Promise to your Highness, to consent freely to whatsoever shall be necessary to the Security of the same within that Kingdom; and doubt not but we shall give all good Catholicks, all necessary Satisfaction in that Particular. And to that Purpose, we shall appoint Persons of unquestionable Affection to that Religion, and of Interest and Credit with that Nation, to attend your Highness
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on our Behalf, and in our Name to consent to what may promote this good Design, as soon as we shall receive your Highness's Answer upon this our Desire: not doubting but that if you shall enter into a Treaty with us, (which we exceedingly desire) we shall give such Content and Satisfaction to your Highness in whatsoever shall be proposed, that will give a full Encouragement to you, to enter upon so glorious an Undertaking. I shall conclude, assuring you that I am

Your most

affectionate Cousin,

Paris, February the
6th, 1652.

CHARLES R.



*A Copy of his Highness the Duke of
Lorrain's Letter to his Majesty,
dated the 23^d of February. Re-
ceived the 3^d of August, 1652.*

My Lord,

THough the Sincerity wherewith I
have endeavoured to serve your
Majesty hath sufficiently appeared in the
small Effects, the Condition of the Times
permitted me to render unto you; it is
so, that understanding how your Ene-
mies, whose Hatred by this means I have
acquired, have laboured to render my
Intentions suspected unto you; I believed
I should not be able to justify it with
greater Clearness, than in making to
your Majesty, as I do by these Lines,
the same Offers that are in one of the
principal Articles of the Treaty which I
have passed with the Deputies of your
Kingdom of *Ireland*; where you may
see,

see, if you may be pleased, with how many Precautions and Reservations the Conservation of your Royal Authority is provided for. Also having propounded unto my self, for an End to this Enterprize, the Glory to conduct it unto an entire Re-establishment of your Majesty in your Estates; I never doubted that you should have conceived thereof any other Opinion, than that you have testified unto me since, by your Letters: wherein if your Majesty doth as yet remain, as I do in a Will to continue unto you my most humble Services, as well in this as in all other Occasions; I do most humbly pray you, to make thereof a very particular Declaration to your Subjects of the said Kingdom; that all Fear to offend your Majesty being taken away, I may meet in their Obedience with the Dispositions necessary to recover the Fruit you can desire thereof: esteeming therein my Expences, and my Cares happily employed, if your Majesty may receive Satisfaction from

Marquis of CLANRICARDE.

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it, and my self to be known over all
the World to be,

My Lord,

Your most humble

and obedient Cousin,

and Servant,

*From Brussels,
Feb. 3, 1652.*

Charles Lorrain.



*From the Lord Lieutenant, ¹⁷/₂₇ of
March. Received the third of
August, 1652.*

My Lord,

THough I cannot absolutely excuse
my Negligence, by the Misfortune
some Dispatches of mine to you have
had; yet I can very truly say, that I
have been as industriously vigilant as it
was possible for me to be, to observe
and lay hold, upon any Occasion that
might offer, the least Opportunity of re-
lieving

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lieving or informing you, both before and since the King's Arrival in this Kingdom. But before his Arrival, the best Informations we could get of his Condition, were as uncertain as his very Condition was, in relation to any Judgment to be made of the Event; and since his Arrival, I have good Witnessess how early and earnestly I have solicited the sending away of Sir *George Hamilton*, with the first of the two Dispatches you will receive herewith: but the plain Truth is, the King could never set aside from the littler Necessity of his own Subsistence what might bear his Charges; nor yet can; which is a sad Reason why a cheaper means of Conveyance is at last found out. And now I cannot, without Injustice to the King, offer unto you any Part of the great Value and Care he expresses of your Person and Interest, as an Effect of my Mediation, or to expiate for the Slowness of my performing what I promised you: for really the King's own Inclinations and wise Tenderness of your Safety, anticipates all
Motions

Motions from others, tending to it; but I can say that, till he was upon the Place, there was no Power to give you the Liberty you now have from him, nor any Reason why it should be assumed by any. Let these Truths, which are partly real Excuses, and what they want in that, a flat begging your Pardon; seem to restore me any measure of Loss in your Belief of my Friendship, and constant Desire to serve you.

The Letters you will receive from his Majesty are so full, as to Direction, Information and Approbation, that it would be Impertinence in me to offer at adding of any thing of my own to them, in those Particulars. Yet something there remains properly enough for me to say, touching the Transaction on this side the Sea with the Duke of *Lorraine*, because your Lordship with great Reason was startled at the Countenance sought to be gained to that Business by a Letter of mine to the Lord *Taaffe*; and perhaps at some Expressions in that Letter, that (strained by the Skill of

those concerned in the Justification of the Matter concluded) might seem too indulgent to it. What I shall say to it is briefly this: first, what you have already observed, that the Letter bears date some Months before the Contract concluded, and so could not amount to a subsequent Approbation; and if you please to add, that it was impossible for me then to foresee that they having your Authority only to treat, should yet conclude (omitting your Name) in the behalf of others, that neither did, or if they did, could justly Authorize them, and consequently that my Approbation can in no Sense be applied to that: the truth being, that till you sent them over, I never saw them, nor had any Knowledge that they were more than you had agreed unto with the Abbot of *St. Catherine*. In the next Place, I must inform you, that it was no part of my Purpose, when I writ that Letter, to give any thing like Instructions, to guide or warrant Authority to a Contract of that high Nature and Importance, as
your

your Lordship will easily believe, when you consider the Shortness of the Expressions that concerned it, and that it was mixt with other things. Lastly, if the Words of my Letters be well weighed and compared with the Articles, I believe it will not appear in any reasonable Construction (how unwary so ever I was in a private Letter written purely as a private Person) that they justify such an absolute Resignation of the Kingdom, as that Agreement plainly imposes. But to give your Lordship full Proof of the want of Ingenuity in the Justification endeavoured by those Gentlemen for themselves, I send you the Copy of a Paper given by them to the Duke of *Lorrain* to that purpose, which compared with the Letter, you will find that they foully mis-recite it, by leaving out your Name, and by understanding the Assembly that last sate, for that which concluded the Peace, and instituted the Commissioners of Trust; who indeed could be only intended by me, when I say, your Lordship, and such as

the late General Assembly intrusted, are best Judges of your own Conditions.

That your Lordship may also see the Sense of his Majesty upon that Business, I send you Observations drawn by his Command, and given to my Lord of *Norwich*, to be made use of, in Case the Justification of, or Proceeding still upon those Articles should be insisted on; but that being wisely waved by the Commissioners, and generously by the Duke of *Lorrain*, they seem now only to let you see how much all Men here are of your Opinion, and, as in Reason, against any thing should be resumed upon that foot. I would most willingly conclude with some Assurance to you of Supplies; but neither my Reliance upon the Duke of *Lorrain's* Power or Will, permit me to be over positive in my Undertakings, though I can say that the highest and most probable Enducements imaginable within the King's Ability are laid before him: but of this the Commissioners, now that they are restored to his Majesty's gracious Favour, and directed to
give

give you constant Intelligence, will best inform you, being upon the Place from whence only Supplies can presently be expected. It is true that his Majesty has designed personally to endeavour the stirring up of the Affections of the Emperor and other Princes in *Germany* to his Cause, and hopes to be shortly upon the Journey: but if the Duke of *Lorraine* shall desist from affording his Help, I fear you are not in case to stay for what may be expected from the *German* Design, unless it shall please God to raise some such Divisions amongst the *English* Rebels, as may interrupt the Levies they are preparing against you. Dean *King* being not yet come hither, nor having imparted any thing to us, that he had in charge beyond his Instructions, which refer to what he had to say, I am able to give you no further Answer to any of your Dispatches. I am now to inform your Lordship, that with the King's Permission, and by the Advice of all the Friends I have here, and in *England*, my Wife will

will shortly go for *England*, to endeavour the securing of her own Estate, and the Support of her Family; which I have held necessary to tell you, least you or others, that know me less, should think I will be less Industrious or Zealous, in furthering the Relief of that Kingdom in way of Opposition to the Rebels, which I assure you I shall not; and so I remain

Your Lordship's

most faithful

humble Servant,

Ormonde.

Louvre, March

1652.



A Copy of the Paper given by the Commissioners at Brussels to the Duke of Lorrain, in Justification of their Proceedings, in order to an Agreement with his Highness. Received from the Lord Lieutenant the 3d of August, 1652.

YOUR Highness being pleased, upon Occasion of some Letters received from his Majesty, to require of us the Particulars, Grounds, and Authority of the Lord *Taafe* and our Proceedings with your Highness, concerning the Succour and Affairs of *Ireland*; we in observance of your Desire therein, do represent unto your Highness this ensuing Account: That the Abbot of *St. Catherine* arriving in *Ireland* in *February, Anno 1651*, as Embassador from your Highness to treat for the
Relief

Relief of that Kingdom; the Lord Deputy repaired to *Tyrellan* near *Galway*, and called an Assembly of the Clergy, Nobility, Gentry and Burgeses, such as might conveniently meet at *Galway*; where a considerable Assembly being met, his Lordship consulted with them concerning that Affair: and great Debates arising touching the Protection of that Kingdom, which that Assembly unanimously agreed to commit to your Highness's Power, and so advised the Lord Deputy, as a present and the only visible Mean to preserve that Nation from the Power of the Enemy: yet his Lordship being not induced to agree thereunto, and so a Breach likely to happen, as well for the then present Supplies, as for the further Aids that were expected; to avoid which, it was determined between his Lordship and that Assembly, that Persons should be intrusted to treat and conclude that, with your Highness here upon the Place, where the Persons so to be intrusted might

might be inabled to have Recourse to her Majesty, the Duke of *York*, or the Lord Lieutenant, for their Consents and Concurrence. In pursuance whereof, a Commission was given by the Lord Deputy to the Lord *Taaffe* and us; a Copy whereof we herewith present; which Commission being accompanied with Instructions for Application to be made to the Queen, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant; in Accomplishment whereof, the Lord *Taaffe* repaired to *Paris*, and presented to her Majesty, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant, all the Papers and Instructions which we had concerning this Treaty; and among the rest, the Propositions agreed and advised by the said Assembly, for the Protection and future Succour of that Kingdom; which Propositions, in Effect, were the same with the Articles concluded here with your Highness: and the said Papers being considered of by her Majesty, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant, her Majesty

Majesty directed her Letters to us (a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed) willing us to give credit to the Lord *Taafe* in what he should relate unto us concerning that Affair; by whom we understood, her Majesty, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant, wished your Highness would undergo the Charge; and that you should meet with no Opposition from any of them; yet that by any Instrument under their Hands, they could not consent to it, lest it might draw Danger on the King's Person, being then in the Power of the *Scots*; and in pursuance of his Letter of Credence, advised that we should proceed to a Conclusion here with your Highness. Accordingly, upon the Lord *Taafe*'s return from *Paris*, the Articles as they are now concluded, and which your Highness insisted on, after many Consults of Council and Debates, between those your Highness appointed, and the Lord *Taafe* and us, were signed; and by the next Opportunity sent Copies of them

to

to the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*: but forbear giving further Notice to the Queen, the Duke of *York*, and the Lord Lieutenant, in regard these would not be seen in the Matter, though they wished it well. And to encourage us further, and take off Scruples, as well concerning the Power, as the Willingness of those that were next in trust to his Majesty in the Affairs of *Ireland*, the Lord *Taafe* shewed us two several Letters; the one from his Majesty, intimating that he referred the Affairs of *Ireland* to his Mother the Queen, and the other from the Lord Lieutenant to the Lord *Taafe*, approving his Treaty with your Highness; and importing, that as the Assembly of the Nation were best Judges of their own Condition, so they had free Liberty from his Majesty, in case of high Necessity, to endeavour their own Preservation, even by receiving Conditions from the Rebels, though much more contrary to his Majesty's Interest, than to receive Helps from any other to resist

resist them almost upon any Terms: a Copy of both which is likewise annexed. This Satisfaction we offer unto your Highness, in Accomplishment of what you desired from us Yesterday; and would as willingly endeavour to give the Reasons of our Proceedings in any the Particulars thereof, if it did appear to what Part Exception is taken, whereby we might manifest our Faith and Integrity towards our King and Country.

Considerations upon the Articles with the Duke of Lorrain. Received from the Lord Lieutenant the 3d of August, 1652.

- I. **S**ince the Office of a True and Royal Protector of a Kingdom, in the manner here proposed, and the Preheminencies of Right belonging to such a Protector Royal, are utterly unknown
and

and undetermined: there being yet no Precedent in the World of any such Title conferred upon any Sovereign Prince, by the Consent, and within the Dominion of another Sovereign Prince; but such Title and Power being usually set up by some popular Insurrection and Rebellion, to contend with, and controul the true Sovereign Powers. Therefore it will very much concern his Majesty, very well to understand the Meaning of it, before his Approbation, such a Title be passed with Reference to any of his Majesty's Kingdoms) to any other Sovereign Prince, his Heirs and Successors, with all Power and Authority whatsoever of governing the Kingdom, whereby he shall be Judge himself, what Preheminencies belong to the Office which he hath assumed.

In all Enterpizes which shall be undertaken with, or by his Majesty's Consent, the Interest of the Crown must be equally intended, with the Interest of
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II.

Catholick Religion; and in all Articles to which his Royal Approbation is desired, the Expressions must be so clear, and void of Scandal and Offence, that as his Majesty is willing to manifest therein his Resolution to give all necessary Security to the free Exercise of Catholick Religion within that his Kingdom, so there must not be such terms of Reverence and Submission therein to the Pope, as do imply, that his Majesty is become a Son of the Church of *Rome*; which all Men must believe him to be, who read the 2d Article, and know that he hath seen it, and consented thereunto.

- III. The Promises to aid and assist his Majesty against his Enemies, are in no degree full or sufficient; nor the purpose of restoring the Authority and Power deposited in his Hands, enough declared, or in any degree Obligatory: there being only an Intimation, that his Intention is rather to relinquish his Authority,

rity, when Religion shall be restored, and the Money he shall have disbursed be repayed; than to take away any Part of his Regal Power in *Ireland*, which cannot be thought a sufficient Provision in so important a Case, or a competent Security to his Majesty for so great a Pawn.

If the King shall consent, that the Faith and Obedience of his Kingdom and People shall be applied to any other Prince, without their being obnoxious to the Superiority of himself (which is especially provided against by this Article) he doth absolutely divest himself of his Sovereign Power over that Kingdom, put all his Subjects thereof out of his Protection, and absolves them from all Obedience to him. And if it be answered, that this is only Temporary; there needs no other Reply, than (besides that the time is illimited) that it was never known that any Prince did for a time abdicate his Regal Power, and discharge

IV.

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his Subjects from their Obedience to him, and ever after recover the same. And if the King should consent, that the Duke of *Lorrain*, thus invested with the Sovereign Power, shall banish out of *Ireland* the Hereticks, he must be understood not only to approve the Destruction of all his Protestant Subjects within that Kingdom (whom the Church of *Rome* is pleased to account Hereticks) but to debar himself from ever claiming his Regal Power to be restored to him, till he acquits himself of that Heresy, which he hath consented shall be banished: and how proper such Overtures are to be made to his Majesty, the most partial Person may judge. It would be likewise carefully explained, what the meaning of those Words is *Traytors to Religion*, and that the Duke of *Lorrain* must not be wanting on his Part to recover the Estates and Goods of the faithful Subjects of the Kingdom; least it be understood that, besides the despoiling all Protestants (which is carefully provided

vided to be done) it may extend to the avoiding all Titles upon all the Plantations which have been made in *Ireland*. And since the Lands of all Traytors must unavoidably escheate to the King (if there be any root left for the Regal Power ever to spring up again) it is not easy to understand what part the Duke of *Lorrain* is naturally to act, upon the Banishment of Hereticks or Traytors, in recovering the Estates and Goods of the faithful Subjects of the said Kingdom. And if the Determination of Matters of that Nature be within the Preheminencies of a Royal Protector, the Supremacy in Civil Affairs in no less committed to him, than in Martial; which does not seem to be intended, or at least is not expressed in these Articles.

If the King approves the 5th Article, V.
he does absolutely and entirely exclude himself from the least degree of Power over the Militia of that Kingdom, which never any Sovereign Prince to this Day

hath done, and by which his Sovereignty is extinguished: which in the Conjunction of his Affairs, may prove a fatal Example in respect of his other two Kingdoms.

- VI. VII. Though the 6th, 7th, and 8th Articles seem to make some Provision for the free Current of Justice, and the Execution of the Law; yet there is not the least Care taken to preserve his Majesty's Supream Authority, even in that Part of the Civil Power: but on the contrary, the General Assembly is made at least equal to the King in that Administration. And indeed the Power that seems to be reserved to either, is eluded by those Clauses of reserving to the Duke, if hereafter any thing shall happen, that may be of detriment to the publick Good, the Authority to give Remedy thereunto, of proceeding in an extraordinary manner upon urgent Occasions, and of giving the Duke Power to convene General Assemblies: which
several

several Clauses in truth make the other specious Provisions for the Administration of Law and Justice, of no Signification at all, towards the ends which are pretended.

IX.
It should be expressed what that wished Success to the Catholick Religion must be, which God must first afford, before the Duke of *Lorrain* (how prosperous soever his Forces prove to be in *Ireland*) shall assist his Majesty towards the reducing the Rebels of his other Kingdoms; and such Assistance ought to be more categorically provided for, and undertaken, than to depend so entirely upon the future Consent and Approbation of a General Assembly, which may be hereafter convened without his Majesty's Consent, and the Members thereof being discharged of their Obedience to him. It being to be within the reasonable Apprehensions of his Majesty (at least such Contingencies being to be provided against) that such a General
R 4 Assembly

Assembly may not think that God hath afforded wished Success to the Catholick Religion, except they may, like a free Estate, oblige his Majesty upon new Capitulations, to consent to whatsoever they think fit to be done in his other Kingdoms.

X. Whatsoever Power, Interest or Authority, shall upon an Agreement be granted to the Duke of *Lorrain*: his Highness may depute to whomsoever he vouchsafes to trust with the Command during his Absence; and such Persons may be admitted into the Council, and to such a Part of the Civil Government, as shall be found necessary for the better managing and conducting the Martial Affairs.

XI. If his Majesty should consent to the 11th Article, all such of his Majesty's faithful Catholick Subjects, whom he shall call to attend his Person, or to whom he shall give License to withdraw them.

themselves out of that Kingdom, as well as his Protestant Subjects (who are to be banished for Hereticks) must be without the Benefit of their Estates, which are, or shall be recovered from the Rebels, because they do not constantly remain in the Catholick Quarters, and under the Command of the Duke of *Lorraine*; which would be very unjust in his Majesty to consent to. Nor is it reasonable that the Duke (who must be reimbursed his full Expences) shall dispose of those Forfeitures, which inseparably belongs to his Majesty, to reward such as shall behave themselves valiantly; it being most proper for his Majesty, when his Debts to the Duke are pay'd, to gratify and reward his own Subjects, or any other, who have done him Service. It being to be presumed, that his Highness's Testimony and Recommendation, will be always of Power with his Majesty, to incline him to favour and reward those whom the Duke hath found to have merited in his Service.

The

The Supply which the Duke is to send into *Ireland*, is not sufficiently provided for, but left under those general and uncertain Expressions, as if it were not thought fit to oblige him to do more than he finds Convenient: which is not agreeable to the Honour of such a Contract, as his Majesty is presumed to be privy to, and approve.

UPON these Considerations, and many other which will naturally enough occur to any impartial and discerning Person (of what Profession in Religion soever) upon reading the Articles, it may appear, how utterly impossible it is for his Majesty to consent thereunto, in what Exigence soever, or Necessity that Kingdom is, or may fall to be; since no Necessity under Heaven, can excuse him for doing what is so contrary to his Duty as a King, and to his Religion as a Protestant. And it were much better that that Kingdom should fall under the present

present Tyranny of the Rebels, without any Fault or Omission on his Majesty's Part, than that by his own Consent, with such Circumstances of Indignity, Impiety and Injustice, he should resign it into the Hands of another Prince, with so infinite Scandal, as it would justly give to his good Subjects of his other Dominions, and to all the Protestant Princes of Christendom. And his Majesty's Clemency and Inclination to his Catholick Subjects should induce them to consider, as well what is consistent with his Regal Interest (if ever they hope to live happily under his Protection) as what may, according to the distinct Fancies of Men, seem to contribute to the general Catholick Interest separated from the free Exercise of their Religion, which is not at all in question, but securely provided for by his Majesty's gracious Offers. And if the Catholick *Irish* shall dispassionately weigh and consider these Particulars, and the natural Consequences that might (at least probably) flow from thence, they

they will have reason to thank his Majesty for cancelling so ill a Bargain; and to believe, that if he should have consented to it, it would have been so far from being the Means to have kept up a War in that Kingdom; that it would have speedily produced the rooting out the Catholick Religion from that Kingdom, and the Extirpation of the Nation: And that upon these Reasons:

I. If the King so totally divests himself of his Royal Power, as apparently he doth, by consenting to those Articles, he can no further press Assistance for that Kingdom from any Christian Princes; who would not hold themselves obliged to it, after he had transferred the Sovereign Power from himself: so that they must solely depend upon the single Protection of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who may not be thought alone equal to the Enemy he is to contend with. And those Places from whence principally (if not solely) Traffick
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sick and Commerce must be preserved, and Supplies of all Provisions must be sent to that Kingdom, are in Amity and Alliance with his Majesty, and in no good Terms with his Highness of *Lorraine*; so that it may be worth the considering, whether that Commerce and Liberty of those Ports may not be restrained, when it is discerned that the Duke of *Lorraine* is at least as much concerned therein as the King of *Great Britain*.

II. If his Majesty should be able to procure greater Assistance from other Princes for the Relief of *Ireland*, than the Duke of *Lorraine* does send thither; or if by the Revolution of Affections and Humours, he should, with God's Blessing, reduce his other Kingdoms to his Obedience, so that he might be able to transport Men from thence, to suppress the *English* Rebels in *Ireland*: he cannot do it without Breach of these Articles, except he will subject all those
Forces

Forces to the Obedience of the Duke of *Lorrain*, and his Commander in Chief, whom he shall depute in his Absence.

III. Whereas the *English* Rebels do yet maintain the War in *Ireland* by Soldiers of their own Party, and corrupted Affections, all his Majesty's Party looking upon the Catholicks of that Kingdom, since they submitted to his Majesty's Obedience, as their Fellow Subjects, and so not suffering themselves to be engaged in the War against them, whereby the Supplies of Men out of *England* have been sent in very small Proportions, and so the *Irish* have been the better able to contend with them: If it should be once conceived (as by his Majesty's Confirmation of these Articles it would presently be) that his Majesty had aliened that Kingdom, and subjected it to a Foreign Prince, and with such Circumstances as imply an Expulsion of all Protestants; it is to be justly feared that all his Majesty's Party would believe,

believe, that they could not commit a Trespas against the King, (the Conscience whereof only restrains them from that Warr) by fighting against a Foreign Prince, who hath no Dependance upon his Majesty, and against a People who are discharged from Obedience to him, and may thereupon freely undertake both the War and the Plantations; which would carry such a Supply of Strength to the Rebels, that no Forces the Duke of *Lorrain* can send, will be able to preserve that Nation many Months from being overwhelmed with Calamities and Ruin. To which may be added, the many Distractions and Divisions, which will fall out amongst themselves upon the same Considerations, as the Marquis of *Clanricarde* hath wisely foretold.

It will therefore concern all Persons, well affected to the Catholick Religion, to the Service of his Majesty, and the Interest and Preservation of that Nation,

to

to use their utmost Endeavours to incline the Duke of *Lorrain* to enter into a new Treaty with his Majesty, and to assist him towards the supporting of this War, upon such Terms as are consistent with his Majesty's Regal Dignity, and with his reasonable Hopes of reducing his other two Kingdoms to their Allegiance; and to that Purpose it may be consented to, on his Majesty's behalf,

I. That his Majesty will confirm the Agreement formerly made by the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and the Abbot of *St. Catherine*; upon which Agreement, all the considerable Supplies which have been yet sent for *Ireland* by the Duke of *Lorrain* were sent.

II. That his Majesty will not only consent that all Castles, Forts and Towns, named in the 13th Article of this last Treaty shall be put as Caution into the Hands of the Duke, for the Repayment of all Money which he hath, or shall disburse

disburse in this Enterprize, with the full Interest for the forbearance thereof; but will likewise increase the same Security by any of his Majesty's Lands, or by performing any other Act within his Power, in order to the same.

III. That for the free Exercise of the Catholick Religion within that Kingdom, his Majesty will confirm and perform the Agreement which was made between the Marquis of *Ormond*, his Majesty's Lieutenant of that Kingdom, and the Confederate Catholicks, with which all the Bishops and Clergy of that Kingdom were then, or seemed to be, well satisfied.

IV. If any further Concessions shall be thought necessary for the Security of his Catholick Subjects in the Exercise of their Religion, his Majesty will give a Gracious Answer to any Propositions which shall be made to that Purpose: and if they be of such a Nature, as that

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his Majesty can willingly consent to them, yet in respect of the Time, and present Condition of Affairs, may be unfit to be publickly executed; his Majesty will give such private Assurance to the Duke for the future Performance of them, as he doubts not will perswade his Highness to pass his Word on his Majesty's Behalf.

V. His Majesty will gratifie such of his *Irish* Subjects, who shall chearfully assist in this Service, in such a liberal Manner, by conferring Honours, or Offices upon them, or otherwise advancing them, that they shall have Cause to magnifie his Royal Bounty. And in the Recommendation of any such Persons, the Desires of the Duke of *Lorrain* shall be of high Signification with his Majesty; and if his Highness shall at any time intimate his particular Wishes of this kind, his Majesty will not leave him unsatisfy'd.

VI. His Majesty will assign so many thousand Acres of good Land within
that

that his Kingdom, either of the ancient Land of the Crown, or of such as shall escheate to him from the Treason of these Rebels, to be disposed of to such Officers of the Duke of *Lorrain*, as he shall employ in that Service, and according to the Advice and Direction of his Highness, as a Reward of their Service.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Page 33. l. 15. for *overthrew* read *overthrow*. p. 43. l. ult. read *the* for *this*. p. 56. l. 6. for *Opplotment* read *Applotment*. p. 82. l. 6. for *Opplotment* read *Applotment*. p. 83. l. 9. for *Paces* read *Places*. 84. l. penult. mend *Opplotments*. p. 98. l. 5. for *to* read *do*. p. 96. l. 11. and 12. for *Condent* read *Confident*. p. 237. l. penult. for *oft* read *of*.

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that his Kingdom, either of the ancient
Lord of the Crown, or of such as shall
belong to him from the Treason of his
Rebels, to be disposed of to such Offi-
cers of the Duke of Arundel, as he shall
employ in that Service, and according
to the Advice and Direction of his High-
ness, as a Reward of their Service.

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